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POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS WITH FRG HELD IN SOFIA

AU081855 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Regular political consultations between the foreign ministries of Bulgaria and the FRG have been held in Sofia. The delegation of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry was headed by Valeriy Pchelintsev, chief of department, and the FRG delegation by Dr Ekkehart Eighoff, special envoy.

The FRG delegation met Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and was also received by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The state and prospects for the development of bilateral relations as well as topical international issues were discussed at the talks.

ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV GREET USSR COUNTERPARTS ON GOSR

AU081230 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Nov 84 p 1

[Greetings message from Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers on the occasion of the Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow:

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the entire Bulgarian people, and on our personal behalf, we send the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Soviet people most cordial greetings on the 67th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR].

The victory of the Great October inaugurated the era of socialism and communism and created the preconditions for the USSR working people, led by the Leninist CPSU, to construct for the first time in human history a social system based on humanity and social justice as well as peace and friendship among nations. The comprehensive political, economic, and cultural development of the USSR revealed the boundless and creative possibilities of socialism and the crushing defeat of the Hitlerite barbarians and Japanese militarists in World War II, for which the USSR deserves the main credit, most categorically confirmed the new system's superiority over capitalism.

The creation of the world socialist system and its successes are closely connected with the cause of October, the CPSU and USSR experience, and the implementation of Marxist-Leninist teachings. United around the powerful USSR, the states of the socialist community became a decisive factor in developing the world revolutionary process and an indestructible support in the struggle of the peoples for peace, freedom, and social progress.

The Bulgarian Communists and all Bulgarian people warmly support the foreign policy course of the USSR, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, as well as the sacred struggle of the CPSU and the USSR to defend world peace and prevent the danger of a thermonuclear war, which has significantly increased because of U.S. imperialism and the aggressive NATO bloc.

The new series of constructive Soviet initiatives, which have an exceptional importance for the fate of our planet, and which were greeted with approval and hope by all peace-loving people, also serve these noble goals.

Together with the other Warsaw Pact member-states, the People's Republic of Bulgaria will further make its contribution to strengthening the unity and increasing the power of the socialist community and to further fruitfully conducting the coordinated policy of the fraternal countries aimed at stopping the arms race and achieving disarmament, peace, security, and prosperity for all the peoples of the earth.

Following the CPSU example, the BCP headed the struggle of our working people against the hated capitalist government and, with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, implemented the socialist revolution in Bulgaria on 9 September 1944, which in its essence was a repetition of the main elements of the GOSR. The recent celebration of the 40th anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution convincingly revealed the impressive spectrum of the successes of our free development and was itself a new and bright manifestation of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. Under the banner of this eternal and invincible friendship the working people of our country are fruitfully implementing the joint course of the BCP and the CPSU on comprehensively coming together, and on cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which has become a moving force in the construction of our new society and an example of socialist internationalism in action.

On this festive day, we wish you, Dear Comrades, and the fraternal Soviet people further and great successes in perfecting the developed socialist society and in the struggle for the triumph of peace and communism.

[Signed] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic or Bulgaria.

TODOROV ATHENS TALKS WITH FLORAKIS, MITSOTAKIS

AU081952 Sofia BTA in English 1920 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Athens, November 8 (BTACCORR.) -- Today the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation led by Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly and member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, met with the leaders of the parties represented in the Greek Parliament.

At the meeting with Mr Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the CC of the Communist Party of Greece, the two sides exchanged opinions on the further development of Bulgaro-Greek cooperation.

Mr. Kharilaos Florakis said that the Communist Party of Greece welcomes the visit of the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation as yet another expression of the positive development of bilateral relations. He stressed that the Greek communists and workers will continue their efforts for promoting the relations of friendship and goodneighbourliness between Bulgaria and Greece.

The talks which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere noted the necessity to continue the efforts for the practical realization of the idea for turning the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The meeting with the chairman of the New Democracy Party, Mr. Konstantinos Mitsotakis, which passed in a friendly atmosphere expressed satisfaction with the development of Bulgaro-Greek relations. Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis said that New Democracy highly values both the good relations with the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the development of Bulgaro-Greek cooperation as a whole. He pointed to the great contribution in this respect of the personal contacts between the president of the Republic of Greece Mr. Konstandinos Karamanlis and the president of the State Council of Bulgaria Mr. Todor Zhivkov.

Mr. Konstandinov Mitsotakis said that together with the Greek people New Democracy declares itself for the further promotion of friendship and cooperation between Greece and Bulgaria.

Today Mr. Ioannis Kharalambopoulos, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, gave an official luncheon in honour of the Bulgarian delegation which passed in a friendly atmosphere.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH FINLAND TO EXPAND

AU081442 Sofia BTA in English 1207 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Sofia, November 8 (BTA) -- Bulgaro-Finnish trade has been growing with every passing year to mark a ten-fold rise against 1970. The seventh session of the joint Bulgaro-Finnish Economic, Industrial and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Commission, which ended today, discussed the possibilities of not just preserving this favourable development but of preparing the conditions for a diversification and of providing a fresh impetus to economic relations.

At present Bulgaria is supplying Finland with machine tools, mechanical handling equipment, electric motors, storage batteries, knitted wear, ready-to-wear clothes, and products of the food and the tobacco industry. Her imports are dominated by machines and equipment for various branches of the economy, metals, paper, celullose and dyes.

The two countries are working on a lot of new projects for industrial cooperation. A new item agreed upon at the present session includes cooperation in the sphere of automation in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the chemical industry, and the paper and celullose industry. Concrete measures have been specified for the expansion of ties in the electronic industry, in telecommunications and the food and tobacco industry.

HUSAK GREETS REAGAN, HOPES FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS

LD081509 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, sent Ronald Reagan a congratulatory telegram on his re-election as President of the United States. In the telegram he expressed hope that Czechoslovak-American relations will develop to the future benefit of the people of both countries and in the interests of consolidating peace throughout the world.

COMMENTARY CALLS FOR DEEDS, NOT WORDS, FROM REAGAN

AU091024 Bratislave PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Nov 84 p 7

[Milan Rusko commentary in the "Word on the Events" column: "Only Acts of Peace Are Decisive"]

[Text] The U.S. elections ended as expected; Ronald Reagan will continue to be President. Due to the election system, according to which the votes for the defeated candidate in individual states are given to the victor, the results were more unambiguous than 4 years ago. This time, electors were selected who, in what is in fact a mere formality, will then directly elect Ronald Reagan: in the middle of December they will send the Senate chairman a ballot with the name of the candidate whom they have been charged with electing. The least number of electoral votes needed is 270; but even before the voting was complete, Reagan had won more than 500. Although public opinion polls predicted Reagan's victory, they predicted a far narrower margin; and thus one is apt to doubt whether the election results represent a true picture of the American domestic-political scene.

During the past period of almost 1 year, the present President and his team did the maximum to win the presidency for a further 4 years. Apart from this being the most costly election campaign in U.S. history, Reagan artfully made use of the media to gain publicity as President. In this the American bourgeois propaganda readily met him halfway. A few months ago, after he had already gained approval for various new armament programs, including space armament, he even began changing his tactics and using words that might deceive a less attentive listener by the use attractive slogans about Washington's alleged willingness to negotiate with the USSR on arms limitation. Although nothing transpired to prove the sincerity of these pronouncements, their growing frequency affirms that the Reagan administration realizes perfectly well what most Americans are interested in and how to win their votes. Ronald Reagan used even the very last hours before the elections to make publicity for himself. In his Los Angeles speech he declared that, after 4 years with him, "America is working again." But at the same time he announced that "it is necessary to devote further efforts to rebuilding our defense... and to prepare for peace." In essence, this means a continuance of the militarist course. To REBUILD [capitalized word published in widespace] the American armed forces means to realize plans for enhancing them qualitatively and quantitatively with one single aim -- to acquire strategic supremacy over the USSR, which would make it possible for the United States to launch a nuclear attack on the socialist states.

Once his victory had become clear, Ronald Reagan declared that "the time has come to negotiate with the USSR." Who knows to whom these words were addressed for the Soviet representatives have shown time and again their willingness to resolve the urgent disarmament issues at the round table. But such a meeting must be properly prepared and must not become a mere propaganda maneuver of the American side. On several occasions the United States has signed important agreements with the USSR -- and then failed to ratify them.

By its policy, especially in the recent period, Washington has trampled underfoot much of the progress that had been achieved in the past in Soviet-American relations, and also in the international scene in general. That is why one must justly have doubts about how much one can trust the alleged U.S. willingness to conduct negotiations; and to what extent this is merely a tactical variant dictated by time-serving motives. "This question must be answered by the United States itself," Comrade Andrey Gromyko declared in his speech at the festive rally in honor of the 67th anniversary of the Great October. "Those who are, and will be, determining U.S. policy, will in any event have to make some effort to ensure that it is possible to receive their words about the improvement of Soviet-American relations with confidence -- that confidence that the American government has so perfectly squandered during the past few years," Comrade Gromyko said.

Apart from the presidential elections, there were elections for 435 members of the House of Representatives and 33 members of the 100-man Senate, and also gubernatorial elections. Although the Republicans have won a few more votes in the House of Representatives, compared with the past, they did not achieve enough votes to enable them to exercise "ideological control," in which they would also rely on the support of reactionary Democrats. Even in the elections for local offices it became evident that the Republicians' policy is not that popular among the broad strata of American citizens.

This is, in fact, because the ordinary American realizes that the golden varnish of a short-lived economic upswing can very quickly lose its brilliance and the growing threat of nuclear war -- to which the Reagan administration brought the world closer in the past period -- is a serious problem. It can be removed only through negotiations -- a word the American President has frequently mouthed recently, though his words are lost in the noise of the explosions produced by the tests of new American arms and arms systems. The notion that such feverish armament and disarmament can be achieved by multiplying arms systems contradicts all logic and common sense. That is why it is high time for Washington to adopt a realistic and responsible stand on the issue of preseving peace, especially in view of the fact that the election circus has now ended. And this must be done not only verbally, but also in deeds. The Soviet Union is not evading peace negotiations.

U.S. THREATENS NICARAGUA; POSSIBLE INVASION SEEN

LD081401 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Having failed to (?disrupt) the elections in Nicaragua, the Reagan government is now resorting to threats against that Central American country. Michal Stasz reports from New York:

Even on election night, the Pentagon threatened the Sandinista Nicaraguan Government that it reserves the right to intervene as it sees fit. This was confirmed again by the U.S. President at yesterday's press conference, when he said the United States has the right to tell Nicaragua what means of defense that country is allowed to possess. The United States (?charges) that a Soviet ship has arrived in the Nicaraguan port of Corinto, and that on this ship there "might be MiG-21 fighters", they claim. It dismisses out of hand the official assurance by Foreign Minister d'Escoto that no aircraft have been received. At the press briefing, a U.S. State Department official said the governments of Nicaragua, Cuba, and the Soviet Union have been warning about an American military intervention (?until they were satisfied with) the measures taken by the Nicaraguan Government to defend itself against the threat of an invasion.

According to latest reports, preparations are under way in Managua to mobilize defense, because in the last few hours another violation of both the air and water space of sovereign Nicaragua has taken place by U.S. armed forces.

Now that Reagan does not need to fear an immediate reaction to his militaristic and adventuristic policy from the results of the U.S. elections, he has evidently decided on an undisguised battle against Nicaragua because secret CIA operations against that country have not achieved their objectives.

FOJTIK GOSR SPEECH RECALLS SOCIALIST HISTORY

LD071537 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1455 GMT 6 Nov 84

[Speech by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at 6 November festive meeting in Prague's Palace of Culture to mark the 67th anniversary of Great October -- live]

[Text] Estemmed comrades, dear guests, we have gathered on the eve of the 67th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR]. Together with the nations of the Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community, and progressive people the world over, we welcome the anniversary of the glorious October as our own festive day. After all, this, the most important revolution the history of mankind has ever known, has profoundly and lastingly affected the life of our nations. It had an immediate influence on the formation of the independent Czechoslovak state, and its immortal example inspired the people of our country to a victorious struggle for the socialist present.

We also recall the living legacy of the Great October in connection with the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army. With pride, we take stock of the results we achieved in building socialism. They are the fruit of the struggles and selfless work of the working class, the working people of cities and the countryside, united by their political vanguard, the CPCZ, in a broadly-based national front. For our party, the party of ardent patriots and internationalists, the party which never spared any effort in the struggle for the interests of the working people, and which values most the peaceful development of our socialist homeland, progress and peace in the world, the legacy of the GOSR has always been a militant banner which it has never, under any circumstance, lowered for anyone. The CPCZ is and always will be loyal to this legacy, the ideas of Leninism, the great idea of brotherhood between equal nations, and against degradation of the working man. Its fulfillment is the most reliable guarantee of the happy life of our people and future generations, the security of our state, and further successes of socialism. [applause]

Comrades, it is generally known that the October in which the workers and peasants of Russia, headed by Lenin's party, overthrew the power of the capitalists and landlords, paved the way to radical transformations in human society. A new historic era began. It encompassed the revolutionary, social and spiritual renewal of mankind, the transition from exploitative social systems to socialism and communism. The shots from the legendary Aurora on 7 November 1917 proclaimed the beginning of a new era in history, the birth of a new communist civilization.

From the viewpoint of the creators of scientific socialism, the history which precedes socialist revolutions is a kind of pre-history of mankind. The popular masses are able to shape their history in the true sense of the word only after overthrowing the rule of the exploiting classes based on private ownership; after establishing the state of the working class and socializing the means of production, narrowing the field of randomness and uncontrollable factors symptomatic of the preceding eras. As Marx, Engels and Lenin pointed out on more than occasion, this process is exceptionally difficult and far more complicated than the liquidation of the power of big capital itself. History has confirmed this fully. It disproved credulous illusions and simplified notions underestimating the historic significance of the construction of a new society.

The shaping of the latter, like the moulding of a new man living in accordance with the laws of socialist community is the result of a tenacious, years-long struggle.

It is not only its enemies who obstruct the path towards the future. It is also necessary to overcome the immense force of historical inertia, ingrained customs and prejudices along this path. Nothing must be underestimated here. It is necessary to guard the gains won and to guide society in such a way so as to reveal and mobilize the immense advantages of socialism.

From the time immemorial human society was divided into exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, powerful and powerless, rich and poor. It seemed that this would last forever. Imperialism, moreover, aggravated and intensified all social antagonisms, widened the gap between the so-called superior, civilized, and cultured nations and the nations that are supposedly less worthy, oppressed by the colonial yoke and dependence.

The entire history of capitalism, of its development and expansion, is marked by violence. Imperialism has multiplied to an unprecedented degree the wrongdoings and sufferings, the poverty and wealth of society. Its reactionary, expansionist and militaristic nature, stemming from its social and economic nature, has become by its very existence a threat to mankind. It demonstrated this graphically by the bloody slaughter during World War I, during which it caused the death of more than 10 million people. Already at that time it demonstrated its monstrous and historically anachronistic nature.

Russia's October was an appropriate answer to the historical situation created at the beginning of the current century. Naturally it tackled above all the problems faced by Russia. The manner in which it tackled them, however, and the results which it achieved, influenced fundamentally the development of events on the entire planet. The famous American writer John Reed could not have been more succinct in the title of his reports about the Bolshevik revolution, when he compiled them in the book Ten Days That Shook the World. Through the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 20th century has become a century of the most profound and significant transformations in human history.

Ranking first among the most important are the emergence of the new state of workers and peasants on one sixth of the planet, the unification of the nations of the former czarist empire into a mighty Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union.

With great excitement we return today to the memoirs of the founders of our party and of many progressive people who provided the first testimony about the new Russia, about the new life which was born with such difficulties and under such hardship in the first country of socialism. They welcomed the coming into existence of Soviet power as a promise of shining tomorrows, or, to use the words of Stanislav Kostka Neumann, a star in a darkened sky. It evoked both admiration and enthusiasm, even amongst unbiased adversaries, for the daring and determination, the immense moral strength with which the liberated people, despite the cruelty of the counterrevolution, despite hunger, epidemics and inherited backwardness, set about to achieve the revolutionary reconstruction of society, a creative but by nature totally new task. This feat, the greatness of which shines out despite the passage of time, was successfully accomplished by the Soviet people. In history we shall not find a better example of heroism demonstrated both in the struggle and in work as that provided by the pioneers of socialism in Soviet Russia, members of the glorious Bolshevik Party, the Leninist CPSU, the Soviet people. They triumphed in the revolution. in the defense of the revolution against the interventionists. They triumphed in the 5-year plans and the collectivization of agriculture, when they transformed one of the most backward lands into an great industrial power.

They triumphed in the terrible war against Hitlerite fascism during which everything was at stake. They repulsed the attack of the most reactionary forces of world imperialism and saved mankind from fascist slavery. They also triumphed in the uneasy post-war period, when it was necessary to raise a large part of the country from ravage and ruin, to ward off the intrigues and blackmail of the imperialists, the makers of the Cold War.

Today the Soviet people, led by their Leninist party, are creating a demanding program for perfecting developed socialism. They are boldly solving the most complex questions of scientific and technical progress, making use of new sources of energy and the wealth of nature and the soil. They are achieving significant successes in the development of all spheres of society. The Soviet Union walks firmly at the head of world progress. Peace-loving peoples look to it with hope. Together with all the progressive peoples of all continents, today we turn to our Soviet friends with our most sincere greetings. We honor Soviet communists and Soviet people for what they have created, defended, and are successfully developing. [applause]

They deserve thanks for the example through which they have proven possible the practical realization of the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin concerning the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, and concerning the role of the working class in world history as builders uniting the masses of the working people for the creation of a new, socially just, truly democratic, and humane society, a socialist and communist society. We take pleasure in the success of the Soviet people. We share with them their joy and pride in the results of their gigantic labor and the efforts which they expend with more than a little sacrifice to secure peace in the world. From our hearts we wish the heroic Soviet people, the CPSU, and its Central Committee headed by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, new successes and new victories in realizing the legacy of Great October. [applause]

Comrades, the deep feelings of friendship which join our nations to the nations of the Soviet Union stem from the basic historical experience which our people gained in their struggles with the bourgeoisie and with Hitlerite fascism during the revolutionary reconstruction of our society. The reality, that we can rely on this friendship, that it is firmly anchored in an unbreakable alliance, the expression fo which is cooperation in all spheres of the life of society, is an eternal source of strength. It is thanks to this friendship and alliance that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic can enjoy life in peace and liberty. We will always remember that with the birth of the republic of the Soviets, the massive wave of the liberation movement of nations rose up and swept aside the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the German Reich. The Western superpowers also had to accept the idea of self-determination. Thus, thanks to the GOSR, 28 October 1918 became the day for which our nations had longed from time immemorial.

A long time and many difficult struggles were necessary before the Czechoslovak republic became a sovereign state in which the working people truly rule. It was possible to culminate this struggle with a victorious socialist revolution, but this was only because our people, led by the communist party which came into being modelled on the Leninist CPSU, could lean on the friendship, alliance, and the truly fraternal and unselfish help of the Soviet Union. Munich had already shown who was who, who was behind us and who was against us, and what a base betrayal the bourgeoisie is capable of when its class interests are at stake, and how alien the cause of our people is to the imperialist West.

Those who pretended that it was they who gave us freedom sold us to Hitler without the least scruples and even boasted before the world that with this perfidious act they preserved peace for the whole of humanity. It was becoming clear even then, however, and further development proved that Czechoslovakia was sacrificed so that fascism would be encouraged to settle accounts with the first country of socialism, so that it would realize its openly declared drang nach osten and its plans for the liquidation of commu-

The nations of Europe and a number of other countries paid a terrible price for this shameful use, by the reactionary forces of world imperialism, of the fascist card -- 50 million lives. Of these, almost one-half were sacrificed by the Soviet Union, which bore the main weight of this most terrible war. It was not because of those who have joint responsibility for its unleashing that the scenario, which included the return of history to its prehistory, of full renewal of world rule by imperialism and its eternal return was not realized and that finally all the forces which they threatened had to stand against the fascist madmen. Those who speculated that the Soviet Union would be so exhausted by the war that it would lose the ability to influence postwar development -- and even that it would have to put itself at the mercy of those who became rich from the war and who rejoiced that they would use the fruits of their victory to strengthen their dominating position in the world -- had completely miscalculated.

The Soviet Army, the Soviet people, and the enormous antifascist liberation movement in which the undeniable authoritative and leading force was the communists, upset the plans of the imperialists. Where the will of the people could not be forcefully subjugated, the liberated people set out on a path inspired by the bright examples of the country of Great October and the ideals of Leninism.

The Czechoslovak people, who were never reconciled to fascist subjugation and never aligned themselves with the betrayal of the swastikas, the Tisos, the Chamberlains, and the Daladiers, proved in the resistance and then in the Slovak national uprising and the Czech May uprising that they consider the liberty of their homeland among the most valuable things in life. In other words, they consider among the most valuable things of their life their ability to finally live in their homeland according to their sovereign will in harmony with their vital interests, without uncertainty, in the spirit of the revolutionary and most progressive traditions which our country is so rich in and of which we Communists, the heirs of these traditions, can be and are proud, and together with all other true patriots likewise dedicated to the socialist ideal.

Gottwald, Zapotocky, Sverma, Fucik, Nejedly, Smidke, Zupka, Novomesky -- the ranks of fighters of our party, of those who have inscribed themselves in the memory of our nations through their diligent, undeclared love for their homeland, are endless. They demonstrated this love throughout their lives, through their respect for their homeland's progressive history and through their selfless efforts to safeguard its future in the spirit of socialism. We will always be infinitely grateful to the USSR for liberating our homeland from the horrors of fascist tyranny and for saving our nations from extermination; for, through liberating our homeland, giving the working class and all the working people a unique and historic chance to build on the hard-won gains of the national liberation struggle; and for re-establishing a united state of Czechs and Slovaks on new, genuinely democratic and popular foundations with real prospects for socialist reforms. We are also infinitely grateful to the USSR for the fact that throughout the whole period of the revolutionary restructuring of our society, it was a granite shield which protected us from imperialist intervention; that through its all-round assistance it accelerated our development toward socialism; and that at the same time it helped smash the conspiracy of counterrevolution in February 1948 and in the inglorious year of 1968.

We know full well that we can always rely on the USSR, both today and in the future, and that it is our most faithful friend and most dependable ally. [applause] Friendship and alliance with the USSR is not, nor can it ever be, for us the product of the prevailing circumstances at any given time. It has overcome every ordeal and it will continue to develop and strengthen: That is the truth and the law of our latter-day history. It is to this that the course of the policy of the CPCZ, our National Front and our socialist state is directed. As Comrade Gustav Husak said at the 16th CPCZ Congress: Alliance and close cooperation with the USSR are for us not only a revolutionary legacy, but a living reality -- they are the guarantee on which all our plans and the prospects for further development depend. [applause]

Comrades, friends, among the most important changes brought about by this development, whose inexhaustible source is the GOSR, are the formation and development of the world socialist system. Those who brought about World War II termed socialism a mistake of history, an aberration of the plans of providence, and they evidently felt that they were called to rectify history and wipe the countries of socialism off the political map of the world, to wrench from the earth the very roots of the workers' and liberation movement. The laws of history, however, cannot be mitigated or changed by fanatics of any creed. The war accelerated the action of these laws which, since the October Revolution, had been largely reduced to a state of historical confrontation between capitalism and socialism. It showed imperialism in its true light, as the final stage of capitalism with its reactionary aggressive, and adventuristic nature, through which it threatens mankind. At the same time it provided irrefutable proof that the hopeful prospect for mankind lies in socialism, which is inherently connected with true democracy, social and spiritual progress, and with the strivings for the peaceful arrangement of relations between states regardless of their social system.

The emergence and consolidation of the world socialist system is graphic proof of the inexorability and inevitability of socialism and of the whole revolutionary process put in motion by the GOSR. The truth of Leninism, which represents the Marxism of the stage in history in which mankind shifts from capitalism to socialism and the ideology of genuine humanism, showed its inconquerability and utter superiority over the despicable ideology of fascism cultivated by world imperialism. This truth is on an unstoppable upward trend because it is the banner of the newly-awakened masses of the liberation movements, movements unprecedented in history, and it is the most progressive and most modern social system. That is the reality of our era, and nothing can change these fundamental trends -- not even the most rabid campaigns and conspiracies of the instigators and organizers of anti-Soviet and anticommunist crusades. Nor can they be denied by the ventures of renegades from our movement, zealous lackeys of imperialism right-wing revisionists and opportunists, or far-left anarchist tendencies.

From an historical viewpoint, socialism is a young system. Its roots, however, especially in the international socialist community, which is grouped around the USSR, are firm and invincible. But, just as where there is light there must also be shadow, our new society is not free of shortcomings. Moreover, it would be absurd to suppose that along the path of its development there cannot be obstacles which cause even serious difficulties, because imperialism erects such obstacles, continuously and untiringly. Revolution cannot be exported; it flowers only where conditions for it are ripe. On the other hand, the export of counterrevolution in a multiplicity of guises -- which imperialism constantly tries to perfect in ways ranging from crude pressure, ideological subversion, and blockades to undeclared war and state terrorism -- is something with which we must contend constantly and is something that occurs whenever nations rise up for their freedom and wherever they wish to organize their lives in their own way, independent of the imperialists.

The imperialists somehow cannot come to terms with the fact that the age of their unlimited domination, when they could dictate their will with impunity anywhere in the world, is now a relic of the past. The United States of America, which after World War II won for itself the nickname of the gendarme of world reaction, has declared whole regions in various continents within its vital sphere of interests and conducts itself accordingly. The cruel war of extermination against the Vietnamese people; the U.S.-Israeli genocide of Palestinians; the deployment of specially trained gangs of bandits and terrorists against the Afghan people; the cowardly and treacherous invasion of Grenada; the escalation of violence in El Salvador; the undisguised and increasingly widespread intervention against free Nicaragua -- these are only some of the drastic examples of the crusade the American imperialists, supported by world reaction, are conducting against democracy and freedom, and in the spirit of the neocolonialist Pax Americana program, directed, in actual fact, at achieving a reversal of revolutionary transformations throughout the world.

It is almost incredible what rationalizations can be invented to cover up this extreme reactionary and inhumane line. The world is continuously being told that at stake is Western civilization and culture, values that are in fact negated cynically and ruthlessly by imperialism itself. Thus, those who are depriving millions of people of their most elementary rights -- including the right to life; the right to work, without which man cannot exist without being deformed in his entire substance; the right to truth, without which he is a helpless object of manipulators -- pass themselves off as the sole, self-appointed protectors of human rights. And with such insolence they not only organize propaganda campaigns against the revolutionary and progressive systems and movements, but also try directly to destabilize or suppress them by force.

It almost appears as if the most important tool for the protection of human rights and the fight against terrorism is the American CIA and its death squads, or the special rapid deployment units built up by the Pentagon and the North Atlantic pact to suppress social unrest and national liberation movements. The world is justly disturbed and deeply concerned by actions that are designed to create and aggravate tension, and the victims of which include important figures of progressive countries. Regardless of who perpetrates such actions, one thing is crystal clear -- they are the fruit of the policy of state terrorism being carried out consciously by the reactionary forces of imperialism, who do not shy away from anything, including the dirtiest methods, in their effort to suppress revolutionary, progressive, democratic movements.

The USSR, and together with it the countries of real socialism, continue to be the principal target of their attack. After all, the campaign for the so-called defense of human rights, as admitted boastfully and openly in the recently published memoirs of Carter's former advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, has been launched and unfolded by American imperialists and their helpers in NATO, primarily with the aim of discrediting the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which do not behave as Washington would wish. It forms a part of the psychological warfare conducted against our countries and, it must be added, their other aim is to deflect attention from the crimes of their aggressive policy, such as, for instance, chemical weapons tests on the territories of foreign states.

The worst offense against human rights, since we are talking about human rights, is perpetrated by those preparing for aggressive war and by those who are persecuting fighters for peace. The imperialists are making use of everything, the minutest of opportunities and every weakness of ours, in order to damage and weaken us. Serving this purpose are various misinterpretations of the purpose and legacy of the GOSR. If it has already been said that it is absurd to presuppose the smooth development of socialist countries without conflicts, then it is equally necessary to stress how senseless it is to draw conclusions from the difficulties that crop up in the struggle for the new society, regardless of what they are, to the effect that the Great October has lost its power and moral attractiveness, that its inspiration has been exhausted, and that therefore it is necessary to find an allegedly more modern alternative. Regardless of how honestly these views are presented, they are an expression of retreat from the principled Marxist-Leninist appraisal of given stages of historical development.

The very emergence and development of the socialist community demonstrates most convincingly the viability and validity of the general laws of socialist construction, as tested for the first time in history by the practice of building socialism in the USSR. The generalized experience of the revolutionary activity of the CPSU and of other fraternal parties, in which our party warrants an honorable position -- in particular for tackling the questions of transition to socialist revolution and for its principled policy since April 1969 -- represents an important, creative enrichment of Marxism-Leninism.

We have experienced the fruitlessness and harm of dogmatism.

We have also experienced how harmful it is for socialism if our common duties are disregarded; if we retreat from the Leninist principles of socialist construction; if decisions are made from positions of shortsighted pragmatism, in accordance with the principle: blood is thicker than water. Behind such a narrow-minded position, which was passed off as flexible and progressive, was an ordinary national egoism linked with out-and-out anti-Sovietism. Its harm was not restricted merely to this, for it led moreover to irresponsibility and excuse-seeking, and these are especially dangerous for a socialist society, the superiority of which can only be manifested under conditions of strict organization, lawfulness, conscious discipline, and order.

We summed up our experiences in the document "Lessons From the Crises-Ridden Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPSU Congress," and on this basis we devised a concept of building advanced socialism in the CSSR. There is no place for any national or regional models of socialism. We proceed from the tested and generally valid laws of Leninism, which we are applying creatively under our conditions, considering their peculiarites.

We are concentrating our attention on consistant implementation of the program drawn up by the 16th party congress. As the congress concluded, we are striving to strengthen the socialist state, the state of the working class and the working people and the most important tool of socialist construction. We are striving to strengthen social ownership, which is the economic foundation of socialism and a reliable base for the development of production forces and for securing a high living standard for the people. We are striving to deepen the social cohesion of the people and to strengthen the unity of our nations and nationalities living within our country while equally enhancing their spiritual development in keeping with socialist ideals.

Respect for the legacy of the October Revolution is reflected in particular in the way we are ensuring greater participation by the working people in management of the economy and the entire society; ensuring that the working people conduct themselves as prudent managers and as citizens conscious of their responsibility for the destiny of the state.

An integral part of the principled policy of the CPCZ is the developing of cooperation with the countries of the socialist community, the deepening of the unity of these countries. I know that our strength lies in unity, in jointly building and jointly defending the gains of socialism. This is why we consider strengthening the Warsaw Pact organization the primary task, along with cooperation within the CEMA framework. This mutual cooperation, founded on the principles of socialist internationalism, within which respect for the sovereignty and independence of each country is joined with the idea of solidarity, the duty to look after joint interests, and not to allow anything which could threaten it, will be a factor of growing importance. It will enable each of our fraternal countries to boldly solve the tasks of the future; to strengthen our joint economic, research and development, and spiritual potential; to secure our defense capability at the desired level; and to continue to have a beneficial influence on the overall development in the world.

The formation of the world system of socialism and particularly its core, the socialist community, is the greatest accomplishment of the international working class and the progressive forces since the GOSR, since the birth of the USSR. Its revolutionizing influence was clearly shown during the breakup of the colonial system of imperialism, and is positively reflected in the social changes within developing countries and in the capitalist states themselves. It is a source of strength and the boon of the communist movement. The fact that within the working class movement there appear certain difficulties and tendencies reflecting the influence of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie does not change anything. We have always encountered them, and our enemies also always speculated with them and used them to weaken our unity. The revolutionary labor movement however eventually overcame all crises, even the most dangerous ones, and emerged even stronger and more powerful.

Today we can say that the revolutionary standard of Leninism unites the vast majority of the communist movement, and although we do not underestimate attempts to break it up, they are proving unsuccessful. We make use of our joint national day, the anniversary of the Great October, to greet the warriors of the powerful communist movement at our celebration, to greet the revolutionary vanguard of the international working class and all those who are united by the ideal of the international class fraternity, the eternal teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. [applause]

Comrades, friends, the lesson from the last war, which we recall in connection with the 40th anniversary of its conclusion, the crushing defeat of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, are most relevant because humanity today is threatened by a new, even more terrible war, a thermonuclear catastrophe. The sources of this threat are the reactionary forces of imperialism, American in particular, which again and again set the arms race in motion and attempt to achieve military supremacy, which would enable them to rule the world. If Europe has lived in peace now for almost 4 decades, if a new world war has not taken place, it is first and foremost because the USSR and the countries of our community united in the bond of the Warsaw Pact.

Socialism was born with the Leninist appeal "Peace to Nations," and it based every state program on peaceful building. As Karl Marx emphasized, in places where work is liberated, the international principle of peace rules. Socialism and peace are indivisible. The USSR and other socialist countries persistently submit through the UN organization and other international assemblies concrete proposals to avert nuclear war and remove the threat of any war. The foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community serves exclusively peaceful purposes. Its unchanging course was again confirmed in the Prague Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact last year in January and in the documents of this year's economic council of the highest representatives of CEMA.

Recently, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, proposed a number of significant peace initiatives. They were again offered at the recent UN General Assembly. We identify fully with them. Their meaning is perfectly clear. They suggest freezing nuclear arsenals, gradually limiting them, and finally liquidating them. This is all simply a matter of finally taking effective steps to stop the senseless and highly dangerous arms races, which benefits only the arms cartels, and to approach realistic disarmament as called for by the world's peace-loving people. For this, however, it is necessary for the United States and NATO to give up their policy of strength and their efforts to gain military supremacy. Words about peace can be heard from the United States and NATO; but these are only words, and unfortunately they are in complete contrast with the West's deeds. The West's deeds include deployment of missiles with nuclear warheads; the development of new, even more terrifying weapons of mass destruction; efforts to misuse space for military purposes; and the creation of areas of tension, with the most varied provocations linked with demonstrations of military strength.

The growth of militarism and revanchism in the FRG also gives us concern. It concerns us directly if voices can be heard from the West discussing the necessity to revise the results of World War II; if doubt is being cast on the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, on the basis of which postwar relations in Europe were organized; and if deadly nuclear first-strike missiles are being deployed on FRG territory. We certainly cannot be unaffected by the fact that revanchist and Neo-Nazi rallies and congresses find sympathy and support from the highest places in Bonn. This is not a good sign. Luckily it is not 1938. Today no one can begin a new Munich.

The peace policy of the USSR and the countries of the socialist community has the wide and increasingly strong support of the antiwar movement.

In it is reflected the will of nations who more and more clearly realize that the most important task of our age is to protect the future of humanity and the most elementary of human rights, the right to life. The GOSR began an epoch in which the will of nations longing to make their own history in harmony with the vital, rational needs of man, is becoming a force which can be ignored no longer, one which will increase in importance. This is the source of our historical optimism, which is being strengthened with the development of socialism and with new successes for revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces.

We are proud of the fact that the CSSR is an integral and trustworthy part of the broad anti-imperialist front. [applause] We go resolutely, and will continue forward side-by-side with those who are deeply dedicated to the ideals of socialism and peace, the most noble thoughts of which light the path along which hundreds of millions of people have embarked since the GOSR and along which the whole of humanity will one day walk together. [applause]

Let the Red standard of October, the standard of socialism and peace, fly high! Long live the CSSR and the CPCZ with the USSR for eternity and never otherwise! [applause]

CIA TRAINING AFGHAN REBELS; PLANS TO DIVIDE INDIA

AU081615 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Nov 84 p 7

[Kabul dispatch from CTK correspondent Jan Stejskal: "The CIA's Subversive Actions; Efforts To Destabilize the Situation in Southwest Asia"]

[Text] The establishment of a network of semimilitary camps for training subversive and terrorist detachments close to the eastern and western borders of Pakistan is, according to the American press, one of the most extensive secret actions of the American CIA. According to the periodical COUNTERSPY, more than 100 training centers have been set up in Baluchistan in western Pakistan, and in the North-West Province. Dozens of other centers are situated in the Punjab Province in Pakistan and in the part of Kashmir that is occupied by Pakistan.

The main task of the subversion centers in the Pakistani border areas is to create unrest and to carry out terrorist actions in neighboring countries -- in Afghanistan and in India. Under the leadership of instructors from the American CIA in Langley, hundreds of subversives are undergoing intensive training aimed at provoking armed clashes; at disseminating heckling, antistate propaganda; and at organizing brutal attacks against the civilian population and public institutions. For these actions the CIA officers are using fanatical religious emigres, various chauvinist and separatist elements, and also Pakistani intelligence agents who are gathering espionage data for the United States in the neighboring states.

The CIA's subversive actions in southwest Asia are part of the U.S. far-reaching plans for destabilizing the situation in that part of the world and at weakening progressive and democratic trends, thus pushing through American interests in India and Afghanistan. Recently the Kabul press published details about Washington's secret plans, which were intended to lead to the destruction of Afghanistan's independence and sovereignty in the second half of the seventies. According to CIA and White House representatives, the eastern and western parts of this state were to have been separated and a pro-American puppet regime set up on the emasculated territory. The CIA's "Brahmaputra" plan has a similar aim; it counts on dividing India into several smaller states, which would enable Washington to win new "allies" in southern Asia and to liquidate India's positive influence on political development both on the Asian Continent and throughout the world. The events of the past years affirm that the American espionage and subversion centers will stop at nothing in order to realize their plans.

DOUBT EXPRESSED ON ANY CHANGE IN REAGAN POLICY

LD082124 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Albert Reisz commentary]

[Text] Certainly it would be wrong to prejudge let alone condemn in advance. However, faced with the fact that the new U.S. President is also the old one, and that quite naturally we may wonder what is in store, there is nothing to do but to review the record. Admittedly, the Bible speaks of Saul who turned into St Paul -- but the United States is not the Bible, and Reagan is neither Saul nor St Paul, but plain Ronald Reagan, and nobody could possibly believe that he changed during the night of 6-7 November.

This is of course true of all his policies. If it is true that the past throws light on the present, this definitely applies to this case. The current Reagan administration has been characterized by an arms obsession that assumed colossal proportions and exceeded existing limits. It placed the militarization of space on the agenda. Speaking of which, why on earth did U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger pick on an FRG daily paper in order to make propaganda for the idea of deploying weapons also in space? Ever since NATO's most recent missile decision there has been nobody left who is not aware that the FRG holds a key position within the Atlantic pact. This means that without its consent there could have been no such decision, no deployment or its consequences. Weinberger's article was published when Reagan's reelection was already known. As I have said, it would be wrong to draw premature conclusions, but these are nevertheless facts that set people thinking, if only because Europe is at stake.

I do not wish to deal with Reagan's idea of a nuclear war limited to Europe but would just like to say this: There is not a single politician in the NATO countries that does not complain about the U.S. Administration's policy known as a high-interest rate policy. Through the attraction of high interest rates the United States draws capital from the European capitalist countries which is urgently needed in Europe. What a strange view of togetherness this is, which inevitably raises anew every day the question as to what kind of relations the United States maintains with its allies. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, the FRG paper, hits the nail on the head when it writes today that, and I quote, the America of this President is not particularly interested in Europe apart from the military alliance.

It is indeed a fact that the foreign policy concept of this administration is concerned mainly with military catagories. For the Reagan administration NATO was and remains an instrument to bind its allies as much as possible into the strategy of U.S. imperialism. This creates conflicts which, in part, as in the case of Greece but also Denmark and the Netherlands, break into the open, and which poses all the NATO partners with the problem that the demands made on them by the United States for greater participation in conventional arms to supplement the U.S. nuclear arms -- the reelected vice president, George Bush, made such a demand just recently -- all this is not merely a heavy additional financial burden for the U.S. partners, but is a factual renunciation of detente which requires neither the continuation nor the supplementation of nuclear arms but a stop and reduction of them.

We do not intend to prejudge, but these are facts which cannot be ignored. Even so, they do not have to be considered irreversible, but the right conclusions must be drawn. Those people are right who believe that in order to reduce tensions scope for negotiations must be created, which the policy of the Reagan administration has hitherto possible.

PDRY COUNCIL OF MINISTERS CHAIRMAN BEGINS VISIT

Honecker Meets at Airport

LD081557 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1457 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Berlin, 8 Nov (ADN) -- 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani, secretary general of the Yemen Socialist Party [YSP] chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and chairman of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] Council of Ministers, arrived in the GDR this afternoon on an official 5-day friendship visit. He has been invited by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED central committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, who warmly welcomed his guest at Berlin-Schoenefeit airport.

Talks Start, U.S. Condemned

LD082208 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1823 GMT 8 Mar 84

[Text] Berlin, 8 Nov (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasni, YSP secretary-general, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Supreme Assembly and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PDRY, met today at the State Council for an initial exchange of views. The two politicians assessed their meeting as a further highpoint in relations between the two parties, states and peoples. These relations are characterixed by long-standing and close friendship, trusting cooperation and anti-imperialist solidarity. They are founded on the close, fraternal cooperation between the SED and the YSP.

Erich Honecker and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani expressed confidence that their talks will lend new impetus to the expansion and deepening of the traditionally close and friendly relations. The visit will provide an opportunity for a broad exchange of views on problems concerning international development and the preservation of world peace.

During the exchange of views on international questions, the two politicians expressed their great concern over the dangerous aggravation of the international situation and the ensuing dangers. In this connection they condemned the course of arms escalation and confrontation pursued by the most reactionary forces of the United States and NATO in order to achieve world domination and prevent all social progress.

The start of the deployment of U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons in West Europe, which also threatens the North African and Near Eastern region, has brought about a new situation and the danger of war has increased. For this reason, Erich Honecker and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani said, the reliable protection of peace and the elimination of the danger of a nuclear inferno is the most important task of the present. The meeting was attended by the two countries' ambassadors.

Honecker Hosts Dinner

LD082133 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1809 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Berlin, 8 Nov (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, hosted a dinner on Thursday evening in honor of 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani, YSP secretary general, chairman of the People's Supreme Assembly Presidium and chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers.

'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani arrived in Berlin the same day for an official friendship visit.

The festive gathering in the official seat of the Council of State in Berlin was attended by other members of the GDR party and state leadership and public figures in the entourage of the Yemeni head of state.

Honecker Speaks at Banquet

LD090006 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2110 GMT 8 Nov 84

["Excerpts" of toast by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at an 8 November banquet held in the State Council building in honor of PDRY Chairman 'Ali Nasir Muhammad -- recorded]

[Text] I am very pleased to be able to welcome you once more, most cordially, dear comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, and your entourage of comrades and friends. Your visit is another important highlight in the relations between our parties, states and peoples. These relations are characterized by long-term close friendship, comradely cooperation and anti-imperialist solidarity. Together we are fighting for the prevention of a nuclear inferno and the preservation of peace, for independence and social progress. It is with great satisfaction that we note that our peoples have made further impressive progress in their construction work.

We appreciate the active contribution by the PDRY in the United Nations and in the nonaligned movement for peaceful coexistence among the peoples. It has turned into an influential, stable factor of peace in the Near and Middle East. It works effectively to overcome the areas of conflict in this region.

There is full agreement between us in the assessment of the international situation. There can be nothing more important today then to avert the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and to constantly safeguard peace through arms limitation and disarmament according to the principle of equality and mutual security. Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, recently seized the initiative once again in order to arrive, by way of negotiations, at genuine results in the safeguarding of peace. In his interview with the WASHINGTON POST he presented proposals that are likely to lead to solving the burning problems of arms limitation and disarmament. We fully support these proposals. It is up to the United States and NATO to finally back their words about peace with actions. Of particular value would be the conclusion of a treaty on the renunciation of the use of military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, which would at the same time be open to all other interested states. The same applies to an agreement on the limiting and reduction of arms budgets.

Such an agreement would also correspond to the interests of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They are to an increasing extent experiencing the consequences of the imperialist policy of confrontation on their political, economic and social development. We highly appreciate the contribution made by you, dear Yemeni comrades, in support of the peace policy of the socialist community of states.

Dear comrades, the main obstacle to peace and security in the Middle East is Israel's continuing aggression. We know ourselves to be at one with the forces that have reacted positively to the USSR initiative for a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the problems in the Middle East. The GDR fully and totally supports this important step of the USSR. We support, together with the majority of states, the convening of an international Middle East conference, with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The realization of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, and particularly their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state, remains of paramount importance for a peaceful solution in this region.

Dear comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, we are able to note with satisfaction that the relations between the states and peoples in the political, economic, scientific-technological and cultural areas have been developing well. There exist all conditions to extend them further. In this, the close and trusting cooperation between the SED and the Yemeni Socialist Party is of decisive importance. Your visit to our country will make this alliance still closer. Together we are determined, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity, to deepen the friendship and cooperation between our parties, states and peoples for mutual benefit. [applause]

PDRY Chairman Speaks

LD090015 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2110 GMT 8 Nov 84

["Excerpts" of toast by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani, YSP secretary general, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium and chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers, at 8 November banquet held in the State Council building, given in his honor by Erich Honecker -- in Arabic fading into German translation]

[Text] Practical life has proved that the friendship between the PDRY and the GDR, based on the increased strength of our joint struggle and in accordance with the great ideas of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism, has developed further and strenghtened. It is fitting that we point out with great pride and satisfaction that the strong strategic alliance between the PDRY and GDR and the other states of the socialist community is the source of the revolution which is taking place in our country under the leadership of the YSP. This party is a factor in the struggle of the revolutionary world movement, in the fight to build a new world under the banner of freedom, socialism and peace. The workers of our country are building the first workers and peasants power in the Arab world. They are successfully tackling the tasks of the national-democratic revolution with a socialist orientation under the leadership of the Yemeni working class and the YSP.

In that spirit the workers of our country are preparing for our party congress to be held in October 1985. They are also working energetically to implement the second 5-year plan and are preparing for the third 5-year plan of socio-economic development.

Our people have shared with great enthusiasm the joy of the GDR people on the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. It was convincing proof of the stability of the socialist order in the GDR and increases the importance and viability of the great successes of socialism which the GDR workers have achieved. These are taking place in the heart of the European continent, which is witnessing at present a drastic escalation of the aggressive policy of American imperialism and its NATO allies, which aims at undermining the security of the European continent and the whole world, since these circles insist on subjecting the whole of humanity to the dangers of total destruction by pursuing a course of arms race, of the militarization of space, the production and stockpiling of mass destruction weapons and the deployment of nuclear medium-range missiles and cruise missiles in West Europe, while ignoring the peace efforts and peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for the preservation of world peace and the banning of the dangers of a destructive nuclear catastrophe for the world.

It can be noted that the feverish aggressive activity of the imperialist circles on the European continent is supplemented by the diverse aggressive and expansionist procedures of imperialist circles in the various parts of the world, together with the increased aggressive striving of the imperialist world system. This aggression is one of the most prominent characteristics of the worldwide general crisis of capitalism in our present time.

In view of the vital and strategic place in the world occupied by the Near East region, these imperialist circles are fanning the flames of tension that exist in this sensitive area. They are continuing their support and aid in various forms for Israel in the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and the disregard of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. The efforts of imperialist forces since the end of the seventies to expand military bases, to deploy naval units, to hold maneuvers, to send naval fleets to the entrance of the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Horn of Africa, and to disseminate the untrue claim of an alleged Soviet danger aim at similar objectives. The target is the justification of the American military presence in that region and the exploitation of differences in order to thus make preparations for enforcing imperialist hegemony over the resources and the wealth of that region. Our country has always been against all forms of aggression and expansion by the forces of the imperialist-Zionist alliance in the Arab region. It always welcomed the constructive peace efforts and initiatives undertaken by the Soviet Union in 1980 in which the Soviet Union called for the dissolution of the foreign bases in the Indian Ocean, and also the new Soviet proposals concerning the convening of an international conference to solve the Near East conflict.

Events and developments in the Arab region have confirmed that it is not possible to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Near East without recognizing the legitimate rights for which the Arab people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, have been fighting. This is in the first place their right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state. Events have also proved that imperialism is not in a position to regain its colonialist domination in the region through the establishment of bases and fleets or all manner of plots and aggression because the peoples' desire for freedom and independence will in the long term always be stronger. International terror as practiced in many regions of the world by the imperialist circles will not intimidate us and will not prevent the peoples from realizing their objectives and wishes. [applause]

AXEN SPEAKS ON FOREIGN POLICY, S&T PROGRESS

AU051928 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- Hermann Axen, Politburo member, SED Central Committee secretary People's Chamber Foreign Policy Committee chairman, met with members of the CDR Academy of Arts on Friday. The discussion, chaired by Manfred Wekwerth, centered on questions of international development and GDR foreign policy.

Herman Axen reported that since November 1983 the correctness of the appreciation and the effectiveness of the policy of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum has been proven. He stressed resolutely that everything possible must be done to prevent a nuclear inferno. At the same time it was shown that there are real possibilities for this.

Owing to historical responsibility, situated at the dividing line between socialism and imperialism, the GDR sees its particular commitment in the task of bringing its international importance to bear within the framework of the socialist states' concerted peace policy and of working to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil. This includes the fact that the socialist GDR is politically, economically, ideologically, and militarily strongly and firmly rooted in the community.

As reaffirmed recently at the 39th CEMA meeting in Havana, a more rational and effective utilization of scientific-technological potential and the linking of the scientific-technological progress with the advantages of socialism are particularly important here.

Much depends on the activities of the peace forces to ensure that the governments in the West give a constructive reply to the numerous proposals of the states of the Warsaw Pact that have been submitted for the individual fields of disarmament, in particular to the recent negotiation offers of Konstantin Chernenko.

The peace forces will continue to struggle, Hermann Axen stressed, to stop the NATO missile deployment, to return to the situation prior to deployment, and thus to pave the way for substantial negotiations and achieve disarmament and detente on a lasting basis. In the subsequent discussion, which took place in an atmosphere of frankness and agreement, Hermann Axen answered numerous questions by the discussion participants.

In the course of the meeting Helmut Baierl, Peter Hacks, Wolfgang Kohlhasse, Hans-Dieter Maede, Eberhard Rebling, Guenter Reisch, and Gerhard Scheumann made statements.

HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY DELEGATION ENDS PRC VISIT

AU072140 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] Beijing (ADN) -- A delegation of the Humboldt University of Berlin ended a several-day visit to the PRC last weekend. The delegation, headed by Rector Helmut Klein, honored an invitation by Ding Shisun, rector of Beijing University. Klein conducted talks on deepening relations between the two educational institutions. During his visit, he was received for a talk by He Dongchang, PRC minister of education.

REAGAN'S SUCCESS, POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE VIEWED

LD082059 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 8 Nov 84

[From MTI's commentator Csaba Kis]

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI) -- It will be discussed by many and for a long time what mandate American voters gave Ronald Reagan Tuesday, what the cause of his major victory was, and whether there would be a genuine change in the policies of the United States. In-depth analyses are yet to come but some conclusions can already be drawn.

The first conclusion is that confidence in Reagan continues to be strong. A considerable share of voters attributed personally to him the economic recovery which started at the middle of his first terms. It was another important factor that during the election campaign Reagan partly modified his approach to some international political issues, even if the modified tone was not accompanied by new, concrete steps aimed at an agreement.

Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that his success was (?only due) to personal popularity. It is beyond doubt that his political views are backed by great many influential supporters. The "traditional American values" proclaimed by Reagan found response in the broad public...

Democratic candidate Walter Mondale and the leadership of his party could not find a formula to counter this. Mondale failed to offer a genuine change, and his well-founded statements on the internal and external dangers resulting from Reagan's policy have not been realized by the voters.

It has also been proved that Reagan and his political ideas were given a limited mandate. President Reagan failed to stop the moderate advance of the Democrats in the Senate, which will become, in American political terms, "more liberal". As Reagan failed to reach a breakthrough of the Republican Party in the House of Representatives and recapture the mandates that had been lost two years ago, there will be no efficient conservative majority to support the policy of the President. It will obviously be a built-in brake for the new administration.

During the election campaign Reagan did not put forward a new programme, he promised continuity. Therefore, there are a lot of question marks concerning the policy of [words indistinct] Walter Mondale earlier. The politician who promised negotiations and agreements on nuclear armament, or he who feverishly continues the arms buildup? A Reagan who promises secure life for all Americans, or he who repeatedly cuts social-welfare spending for the sake of a higher military budget? Reagan is now facing a relatively calm period as he does not have to report to voters four years later. It remains to be seen, however, how he makes use of this opportunity.

TELEGRAM GREETS USSR LEADERS ON GOSR ANNIVERSARY

AU081253 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] On the occasion of the 67th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR], Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council; and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent the following telegram to Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, and to Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, in Moscow:

Esteemed Comrades! On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council, and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and of the Hungarian people, we send our comradely and friendly greetings and best wishes to you, and through you to the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, the the fraternal Soviet people on the 67th anniversary of the GOSR.

The victory of the GOSR opened a new era in history. As a triumph of Leninist ideals the world's first socialist state came into being and has become the symbol of a better future for mankind and of the prosperity of the peoples. It has brought hope to millions of exploited people of the world, to peoples struggling for a world free of wars. We Hungarians respect the Soviet Union as our liberator and remember with good feelings the fact that hundreds of thousands of the sons of our people fought during the civil war to defend the young Soviet power, inspired by the ideas of the Great October.

Since the revolution, the Soviet people, led by its Leninist Communist Party and overcoming every difficulty, have achieved outstanding results in the multilateral development of the people's economy of the Soviet Union, in the construction of the new society, and in the area of socialist national defense.

The Soviet Union has won worldwide recognition by the fact that the Soviet power, ever since the first moments of its existence, has led a consistent struggle for international security, world peace, and social progress. In our days the Soviet peace initiatives and proposals aimed at halting the arms race and eliminating the dangers threatening peace are of particularly outstanding importance.

The Hungarian people highly appreciate their friendship with the Soviet people. This is reflected by the intimate festivities with which we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of our liberation all over the country. We are happy that Hungarian-Soviet cooperation, based on common ideals, goals, and interests, is deepening in all areas of life for the benefit of our peoples and the universal cause of socialism.

The MSZMP will continue in the future to develop and broaden its relations with the CPSU in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to strengthen the two peoples' friendship, and to deepen the cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union.

On the occasion of the great holiday of the Soviet Union and of progressive mankind, we wish you from our heart new outstanding results in socialist construction, in implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, and in safeguarding world peace.

UN DELEGATE URGES PEACEFUL UTILIZATION OF SPACE

LD031057 Budapest MTI in English 0600 GMT 3 Nov 84

[Text] New York, November 2 (MTI) -- Ambassador David Meiszter, member of the Hungarian delegation, addressed the debate at Committee No. 1 (Disarmament and International Security) of the UN General Assembly. He said the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic [words indistinct] prevention of militarization of the space, and the prevention of nuclear war and aim at exclusively peaceful utilization of space. The Hungarian delegate called attention to dangers inherent in the United States' endeavour to extend the arms race to the space. Facts prove that the Soviet Union is ready to hold serious and objective talks - either bilateral or multilateral - wth the aim of preventing the militarization of space in an international agreement, said David Meiszter.

SERIES ON ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT CHANGES PUBLISHED

Part I

AU061957 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Oct 84 p 5

[Andras Banki article entitled: "New Forms of Enterprise Management" from the series "The Further Development of the Economic Macromanagement System (I)"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] The high-level provisions of law that serve the further development of the system of economic macromanagement will be continuously published in MAGYAR KOZIONY as of today. In our series, we will review first the regulations pertaining to forms of the new type of enterprise management.

In further developing the economic macromanagement system, it is the development of forms of the new type of enterprise management that attract the sharpest interest. This particular attention is justified because, in conjunction with other reform measures, this new element could mean the greatest change in our economic mechanism. At the same time it was modernization of the enterprise management system that raised the most strongly accentuated theoretical and practical questions on the course of the elaboration of the reform concept. The debates centered on this question: While preserving the character of state ownership and improving the effectiveness of central direction, how and to what extent can one bring enterprise independence and entrepreneurial freedom to perfection?

More Independent Economic Activity

Economic macromanagement intends market mechanisms to play a more active role and is promoting the development of competition in the future. This calls for more active conduct in the market by those engaged in managerial activity. However, the present system of macromanagement, under which it is largely the state administrative bodies that exercise ownership rights, restrains rather than stimulates enterprises in fulfilling these requirements and in operations as genuine ventures. It has therefore become necessary -- and this was affirmed by the April statement of the MSZMP Central Committee -- to place the relationship between state administrative bodies and the enterprises on new foundations; to separate the exercise of functions concerning economic macromanagement and the operation of state property; and to create, by transferring certain rights of disposition over property and the rights of an employer over managers, legal and institutional prerequisites for more independent enterprise management. The Central Committee has adopted a position in the respect that these principles will be asserted in the competitive sphere, which encompasses the overwhelming majority of economic organizations, and that there will be two new types of enterprise: Enterprises managed by enterprise councils and enterprises managed by general meetings or deputies' meetings of the working people. As a result, the management of public property should be more efficient; the economy's profitmaking potential should improve; and, through their more extensive sphere of rights, the motivation, responsibility, and onwership-consciousness of enterprise collectives should strengthen.

The modernization of the enterprise management system requires a modification of the 1977 enterprise law. The Presidential Council's decree of legal force concerning this and, linked to it, the Council of Ministers decree on its implementation can be read in the MAGYAR KOZIONY appearing today. The new legal decrees will go into effect on 1 January 1985.

With the new types of state enterprises, the state administrative (founding) bodies' supervisory authority over the enterprises ceases and is replaced by supervision of legality. The right of continuous dispostion over property is exercised by the enterprises; fundamentally, the market judges the quality and efficiency of their work. The right to establish an enterprise remains within the sphere of authority of the bodies entitled to found enterprises, which are also obliged to determine, in an establishing resolution, the enterprise's starting capital and the body responsible for the general management of the enterprise (one of the two new forms of management). In effect, the director managing the enterprise may make decisions concerning separation, merger, and turning an organizational unit into an independent enterprise, but the issuance of an establishing resolution remains within the sphere of authority of the founding body. At the same time, these enterprises may only be terminated by separation, merger, or liquidation based on their voluntary decision.

With the enterprises operating under the new forms of management, the decisionmaking authority of bodies operating with the direct participation of the working people, or organized on a representation basis applies. The position of directors changes fundamentally: Their hierarchical dependence is replaced by a democratic dependence. The managing body exercises the right of an employer over them and may elect or relieve them with the prior approval of the founding body. The legal rules emphasize the fact that a rational division of labor should develop between the director and body in the managements of enterprises. The latter are to assert their authority mainly in enterprise strategic questions, compile the requirements levied on the direction, and create broad scope for the director's independence and personal responsibility in operational management. Under the new forms of enterprise management, the internal organizational and operational rules will be the "little catechism" of those engaged in economic activity.

At the medium and large enterprises operating in the competitive sphere, management by enterprise councils seems expedient. The number of council members is determined in the enterprise's organizational and operational regulations. Legal rules have set 50 people as the upper limit. The council consists of the director, the representatives of the enterprise management, and deputies of the working people. All of its members are entitled to one vote. Representational proportions also are determined by organizational and operational regulations: The director can assign a portion -- one-third at the most -- of the representatives of the enterprise management; the complement of the working peoples' deputies cannot be less than one-half of the number of members. Deputies are elected for 5 years. The enterprise council, which must be convened at least once a year, elects a chairman and a vice chairman from among the members. The director cannot be elected to these positions. The council elects the director by secret ballot and decides on relieving him in the same way. The decisionmaking authority of the organ extends to all essential, mainly strategic aspects of operation and economic activity: to the establishment of plans, the modification of the sphere of activity, other fundamental questions concerning economic activiity, employment, and the apportionment of incomes, and, of course, the acceptance of the organizational and operational regulations.

At enterprises managed by a general meeting or deputies' meeting of the working people -- fairly small state economic organizations are expected to be such enterprises -- every essential decision we have listed in connection with the enterprise councils falls within the authority of the working collective. The establishing resolution will specify -- subject to the size of the staff of the enterprise, the number of organizational units, and regional configuration -- whether a general meeting or deputies' meeting is to operate. Every working person is a member of the general meeting. In the case of a deputies' meeting, the deputies are elected.

The meeting elects a director by secret ballot for the duration of 5 years and, with the exception of issues belonging in its exclusive authority, it can transfer the right of decisionmaking to the management. The organizational and operational rules can stipulate that the working collective may elect a control commission to exercise continuous supervision.

A 2-Year Transition

Transition to the forms of the new type of management will begin on 1 January next year and end by 31 December 1986. Public services and communal enterprises and those designated by the government for interests of the people's economy will remain under state administrative management also in the future. Their relationship with economic macromanagement organs will not change; however, the form in respect of trusts will be revived and the trust enterprises will have greater independence. The collective managerial body of trusts is the council of directors comprising the directors of the trust's enterprises, whereby the decisionmaking authority rests with the council.

In connection with the modification of the enterprise law, the Presidential Council has modified the labor code by decree having legal force and, related to this, a Council of Ministers decree pertaining to implementation has been issued. The legal regulations settle the rights of the working pecple and, in certain questions, the relationship between the leading bodies and the trade unions under conditions of the new forms of enterprise management.

[The following three passages are published boxed and at random in each of the three columns of the body of the item:]

[1.] Supervision over Legality

Through supervision over legality, the state verifies whether the enterprise's internal regulations are consistent with legal rules and the establishing resolution of the enterprise and whether the operation of the enterprise conforms to these provisions. Supervision over legality does not extend to revision of the economic activity of the enterprise on the basis of economic considerations, to questions belonging in the sphere of sectional and functional macromanagement and supervision, market supervision, and the activity of the authorities, or a substantive appraisal of matters that are subject to a labor dispute, court proceedings, or state administrative proceedings on the basis of a separate legal rule. Supervision over legality is performed by the founding body, or, in the case of council-established enterprises, a special agency of the executive committee of the municipal or county council.

[2.] The Rights of Enterprises

Where an enterprise council or a general meeting of the working people is responsible for the management of an enterprise, these bodies decide on the election or release of the director. Within the framework of the legal rules, the enterprise independently manages its own assets and the labor force employed by it. It is a fundamental right, as well as duty, of an enterprise to use its material and intellectual resources efficiently and to enhance them; to determine enterprise plans and business and pricing policy and the structure of products and services; to draw up a balance sheet and prepare a statement on the results of the enterprise; to found subsidiaries; to participate in economic associations and merges; to establish the organizational and operational regulations of the enterprise; to protect social property and ensure the prerequisites necessary for this; to organize an internal control, information, and auditing system; to exercise the rights of an employer and fulfill the obligations as such; to fulfill tasks concerning personnel and labor affairs;

to improve the circumstances of the accomplishment of work in a planned manner and continously; to ensure prerequisites for performing work under hygenic conditions and for safety in production, plant safety, and security against fire; to organize a social work competition; and to satisfy the welfare, social, culture, educational, and sports requirements of the working people within an enterprise framework and under enterprise conditions.

[3.] Directive and Indemnification

The Presidential Council has passed a decree with legal force on directives to perform a specific economic activity and indemnification for the loss caused by this, in the interests of enhancing responsibility for economic activity and consistently enforcing responsibility for economic activity. In accordance with this, only the head of the organ listed in the legal provision may issue a directive concerning a specific economic activity if the planned economic objectives cannot be achieved by other means. Prior to the issuance of the directive, the nature and extent of the material loss that could ensue through its fulfillment must be ascertained. The organ issuing the directive furnishes the indemnification. If it rejects the claim to indemnification partly or entirely, the party that has sustained the loss can initiate court proceedings. The provisions concerning indemnification cannot be applied if the directive is based directly on a decision by the Council of Ministers.

Part II

AU072016 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Nov 84 p 6

[Maria Lakatos article entitled "The Dishonest Price" from the series "The Further Development of the Economic Macromanagement System (II)"]

[Text] The National Assembly approved the law banning dishonest economic activity almost a fortnight ago. We have already written in these columns of the new regulations whose aim is to strengthen market conditions and competition. Last week, the Council of Ministers, making use of its law-given authorization decided on important new questions and created regulations concerning dishonest prices and the economic fines. Both regulations are closely connected with the ban on dishonest economic activity and they regulate in detail some of its aspects. We report here on the most important changes brought by the new regulations and their causes.

Commencing with 1 January the regulation on dishonest prices will replace a long-debated regulation commonly known as the 1028 regulation concerning dishonest profits. In numerous cases its application could not be clear-cut because of its very formulation and outlook. In spite of the fact that the regulations referred to prices, they contained only one aspect of prices, the profits. They contained no direct instructions concerning profit in the free price system. The basis for calling to account was provided by the exaggeratedly high prices, although life has also provided extraordinary instances in which the exorbitantly high prices contained just losses and not profits.

An enterprise can attain advantage dishonestly not only when its prices are exaggeratedly high. In principle average prices can also be set in a dishonest way in contravention of the regulations. As the regulation built on market conditions makes it possible that the profits move on a wide scale, it is by all means advisable to analyze the whole price and not just certain parts of it. The new regulation follows this changed concept. An extremely important change is also the fact that it refers to all kinds of units engaged in economic activity, thus also to the private sector. It covers the notion of illegal price not only with regard to the free price form but also to all the other types of prices.

The regulation lists in detail what can be considered as dishonest pricing. In the authority-determined price list, if someone charges more than stipulated in the regulations, or in the case of protective prices -- for example in the course of agricultural purchases -- if someone writes too small an amount on the bill, the rules are already broken. The free price is dishonest if it is disproportionately high of if the regulations concerning the following of foreign trade prices are not respected at its application, for example in the sales of energy and industrial basic materials and semi-finished products. Special regulations govern the sphere of price setting that follows the foreign trade prices. The regulations lists in detail the cases of dishonest prices but the practice can still produce many unforeseeable cases, too, therefore the evaluation of controversial issues is the task of the price control organs. One interesting aspect of the regulation is that it considers the prices achieved at competitive bidding as justified and adjusting in value to the conditions of supply and demand. But from the point of view of supply and demand relations, it regards the application of the unnecessary middle-man fee as unacceptable.

Speaking of sanctions, the regulation stipulates: Those who, according to the conclusion of the price official, sell their products at a dishonest price, are required to repay the unjustified profit to the harmed buyer. If the identity of the harmed persons cannot be established, the money goes to the newly created Market Intervention Fund. Another Council of Ministers law stipulates the application of economic fines, a regulation that, similar to the previous one, supplements the law banning dishonest economic activity. Twenty-two paragraphs of this law determine when an economic fine should be imposed. The unit engaged in an economic activity -- state, cooperative, or private sector units -- may be fined if they gain considerable material advantages by breaking the rules of the law of if they cause considerable harm to the consumer or the competitors. Repayment of unjustified advantage or of the damage is independent of the imposing of economic fines. The law-breaking units must pay this in any case. Taking into consideration the circumstances the court will decide on the fines. The punishment imposed must exceed by at least 30 percent the sum of the unjustifiably attained advantage or damage. In the cases worth special acknowledgement, the court may decide on a lower sum or may abstain from imposing a fine. Thus, fines must be imposed if someone is taking part in foreign trade without licenses or in a way different from the one stipulated in his license, if he carries on an activity that is regulated by licenses in accordance with the regulations concerning foreign currency without the suitable documents and licenses or in a way different from the one stipulated in the documents. An enterprise cannot avoid punishment either, if it is involved in an activity for which it has no right. In the same way an enterprise that does not fulfill its obligations concerning the supply of spare parts and accessories and the regular supply of repair services will find itself before the economic court.

The serious violation of labor protection rules and the damaging of quality are also followed by fines. These activities have been punished earlier, too, and it would not have been justified to withdraw these from the sphere of authority of the economic fines because of changes in regulations.

We have, of course, given only a sketchy outline of the two Council of Ministers laws. But this may be enough to show that the regulations concerning dishonest prices have mainly created a clearer situation than before. They explain in detail the meaning of price in accordance with the relations of supply and demand and explain when one is pursuing economic activity in breach of regulations. These regulations only supplement the law on dishonest economic activity. In evaluating a venture, the supervisory organs must jointly assess the way in which legal rules and regulations are kept.

Maybe these thick collections of paragraphs will contribute to understanding what kind of economic attitude and form of behavior the government expects from the enterprises, cooperatives, and small ventures without numerically stipulating what profit can be calculated, where, and when. The spread of market-oriented economic activity and the strengthening of honest competition can be served only by such a code of conduct.

[The following boxed passage is published within the body of the item.]

In the case of free prices, the price is dishonest if:

-- it is disproportionally high;

-- it is higher than the important price barrier stipulated in the separate regulations;

-- it is asserted through the violation of the regulations concerning the following of foreign trade prices in the case of energy and industrial basic materials and semifinished products in the price setting sector adjusted to the foreign trade prices;

-- the regulations concerning the price setting adjusted to the foreign trade prices of the manufacturing industry products are not observed;

-- it is raised by failing to carry out the obligation to provide prior information on the upcoming price change or before the end of the stipulated deadline for the suspension of the price rise.

Part III

AU071750 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Nov 84 p 5

[Karoly Ban and Andras Banki article, entitled "New Regulation of Enterprise Earnings," in the series "The Further Development of the Economic Macromanagement System (III)"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Concerning the further development of the system of economic macromanagement, the regulations of enterprise earnings will change from 1 January 1985. The Council of Ministers decree published in the 5 November issue of MAGYAR KOZLONY regulates the employment of the incentive fund and the material incentive system of working people in higher leading positions. The new legal regulations were reviewed by State Secretary Dr Albert Racz, chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor Affairs, at a press conference yesterday. In past years enterprise wage and earnings regulation had to fulfill two main requirements: to motivate good work and to keep the outflow of income within planned limits. These two recriprocally contradictory requirements could also be met by regulations, but in a contradictory way: Its various functions and elements militated in a manner that caused each to weaken the other. In addition to the narrow set increase of nominal wages, the possibility for motivation and differentiation was limited, while at the same time average wage regulation did not induce a more rational work force management, because enterprises were interested in retaining working people who only served to "dilute" the wage level.

Three Forms

The aforementioned two main requirements will remain valid in the future as well, but the new enterprise earnings regulation will have to more effectively induce the enhancement of personal and enterprise performances and a better and economical work force management.

As the April statement of the MSZMP Central Committee put it: "Better performance should be accompanied by proportionately higher incomes (...) The regulation of earnings is to enable enterprises that attain higher incomes and can bear the burdens of wage costs to attain greater earnings and is to prevent the increase of earnings in places where this is not justified by efficiency." The new regulation creates a broader scope of movement and greater freedom for enterprises for more flexible economic activity and for developing a more rational proportion of employment among the production factors. At yesterday's press conference State Secretary Dr Albert Racz, chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor Affairs, stressed in this connection: "Any enterprise regulation can only function really well and exercise a stimulating force if the enterprises keep an effective internal incentive and motivation system in operation that makes attainable earnings subject to the work performed on the level of factories, plants, workshops, brigades, and brigade members alone." In his preamble, the state secretary noted the fact that the new regulation terminates the present differentiation in the payments of personal incomes charged to wage costs and paid from profits, and adopts instead a homogeneous outlook on earnings. This means that wages, as well as portions of earnings derived from profits (profit shares, premiums, and rewards) can be paid under identical conditions, which is justified, since both become the personal income of the working person. That is why we can speak of a regulation of earnings with regard to the new regulation.

The system of enterprise earnings regulation effective from 1 January 1985 will consist of three forms: the earnings level, the earnings increase, and the central earnings regulation. Dr Albert Racz called the most essential change the fact that the regulation of the earnings level can be applied to a considerable portion of the enterprises that operate in the competitive sphere, which can produce sudden improvement in motivation and differentiation and, since it considerably increases -- through the earnings taxes -- the costs of employment, it induces the enterprises to apply more prudent consideration in choosing production factors. With the exception of central earnings regulation, the development of earnings depends solely on the profits of enterprises. The more profitably an enterprise operates, the more sources it has left for paying the taxes on earnings. However, not even the attained level of earnings can be guaranteed in places where there is no profit. This means, among other things, that the enterprise is unable to retain the work force unless there is suitable effectiveness of the work forces employment.

Progressive Tax

The essence of the income level regulation is: The enterprise pays income taxes according to the actual annual income of all its workers, income tax that must be established by totaling the taxes computed for each worker. The amount of the tax is linked to the workers' annual income brackets and increases progressively. In this system, therefore, the relation to the basic year and the role of the average salary will cease. In the case of both permanent and temporary workers, assessable income will be determined by adding up the earnings paid for different reasons. If a worker employed in a full-time job ceases to be employed during the year, then the assessable income is established on the basis of the yearly level income computed on the basis of his average monthly income, but only the part proportionate to the period worked must be paid. In the regulation of income growth, the enterprises must pay income taxes according to the growth of the yearly average earnings, compared to the previous year, of full-time workers. As an incentive for the spread of flexible employment forms, the enterprise can enjoy tax benefits according to the incomes of part-time workers and outside workers: This benefit is also asserted in the central income regulation.

The central income regulation remains firmly in force in those branches, and in those branches in a serious condition, as is metallurgy at present, where the profit-making interest cannot be asserted in the long term either. Here the growth of incomes is determined centrally, and it is a basic principle that in this the incomes must keep pace with the competitive sphere. In this form, no tax is imposed on a large part of the growth of personal incomes, but beyond this part the organizations pursuing an economic activity also have the possibility of increasing the taxable earnings.

The central income regulation will also have a form which the enterprise can apply on the basis of its own decision instead of on the basis of the income level or income growth regulation. This can be required by enterprises in which profits are temporarily less than adequate for the general requirements. This decision, however, also has a price, because the conditions of the taxation are more severe than in the "normal" income regulation.

According to previous calculations, 40 percent of the organizations pursuing an economic activity will apply the income level regulation; 20 percent will apply the income growth regulation; 25 percent, the central income regulation; and 15 percent will decide, temporarily, in favor of the central income regulation of their own choice. In order to ensure that the enterprises do not attain unjustified advantages merely from switching over, and without genuine surplus achievements, they must pay a supertax if in the given year, compared to the previous years, their added value indicator per 1-forint income is deteriorating. The amount of the supertax will be 150 percent next year, 75 percent in 1986, and will cease in 1987. Those enterprises in which the growth of the average income in a given year does not exceed 3 percent do not have to pay this tax.

So the three forms will be present simultaneously in the economy. The income level regulation can become general in the competitive sphere, where a situation of market competition has emerged and there is a strong profit incentive. In the places where this is not the case and the price is not "controlled," that is the units can freely increase earnings and have them reflected in market prices on account of their monopoly situation, then income growth regulation and central income regulation are asserted. The enterprises will be centrally classified into different forms. Beyond this, however, under certain determined conditions, the enterprises -- on the basis of individual decisions -- have the possibility of choosing from among the forms of regulations. The final aim is for more and more enterprises to switch to the most flexible income level regulation form. The final "setting in" is expected to be in 3 years.

Leadership Interest

The system of material interest of workers in higher leading positions will also change, in connection with the fact that, at the enterprises operating in the new types of management forms, the collective managing body will be their employer and will exercise employer's rights over them. The complex evaluating system and the connected bonus will cease and only premiums will exist. A premium can be given on two grounds: First, by the employer, calculated on determined factors, for the increase of profits proportionate to the assets; second, by the founding organ, up to a maximum 20 percent of the basic wage for carrying out determined tasks such as environmental protection.

[The following boxed chart is published within the body of the item.]

The Earnings Level Regulation

Grades of the annual earnings of workers (in 1,000 forints)	The extent of taxes (the sum of taxes computed on the basis of the previous grades and the percentages of the portion of earnings falling under the given grade)
-24	5%
24-36	1,200 plus 10%
36-48	2,400 plus 15%
48-60	4,200 plus 20%
60-72	6,600 plus 25%
72-84	9,600 plus 30%
84-96	13,200 plus 35%
96-120	17,400 plus 40%
120-144	27,000 plus 45%
144-	37,800 plus 50%

TRADE UNIONS' ROLE IN NEW MANAGEMENT ASSESSED

AU071534 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 3 Nov 84 p 3

[Interview with Ferenc Roland, head of department of the National Trade Unions Council, by correspondent Laszlo Diosdi, entitled: "Do the New Forms of Enterprise Management Represent a Change in the Trade Unions' Activity?"; first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] In its recent session the National Council of Trade Unions approved a decision on trade union tasks concerning the further development of economic macromanagement. The decision stresses, among other things: "The further development of economic macromanagement creates conditions even better than current ones for implementing the MSZMP position of 12 October 1983 and for the strengthening of the social role of the trade union.... The trade union movement supports the steps to be implemented in certain areas of economic management for the benefit of reinforcing the economy's strength, and sets requirements that directly or indirectly serve the implementation of policy concerning the standard of living." In the National Council of Trade Unions plenum debate, along with principled agreements, very common, everyday tasks were mentioned concerning the role of the trade unions. We now wish to continue this line of thought in our discussion with Ferenc Roland, head of the Cultural, Agitation, and Propaganda Department of the National Council of Trade Unions.

[Diosdi] One of the participants in the debate said that the planned changes in economic macromanagement and the new form of enterprise management, which the Presidential Council has in the meantime decided to introduce, represent a new situation and new conditions for the workers and the trade unions to the same extent as the reform which began in 1968. Then, a spectacular renewal took place in the trade union movement within a short time. What are its possibilities today; in other words: What can and what cannot the movement do?

[Roland] Let us begin with what the trade unions cannot do: They are not and cannot sit with their arms folded; they want to act. They cannot afford to do nothing because this contradicts their mission, their commitment to socialist construction work. It would be conservatism to stick to immutability during changes of such a large scale. The trade unions have always known how to adapt to greater requirements. For a long time one of the main characteristics of our trade union activity has been its sensitive reaction to changes underway in the economy and society. At present the trade unions must profit all the more from this readiness and openness when broader possibilities open up for them to participate with initiative in economic construction work, in preparation and implementation of local decisions, and when they not only have the sphere of operations but also the increased obligation to represent the right of workers to work and the assertion of full employment, taking into consideration the interests of the people's economy. The position adopted by the MSZMP Central Committee last year also initiates commitment and active behavior in stating that "the role of the trade unions in our society is increasing." In the sphere of enterprises in particular, this means an increase in tasks where "our economic management system increases the independence and responsibility of local economic organs. This in turn assures greater possibilities for the trade unions, too, and that means new tasks." As for the trade unions, these tasks are already knocking at our doors. It is common knowledge that the election of the manager of the knitted-glove factory in Gyor was entrusted to the body of stewards. It is also common knowledge that, according to the position adopted by the Central Committee, the enterprises will operate under three forms of management. At enterprises with 400 or fewer staff, the workers or members meeting will be the highest forum; at larger enterprises, enterprise councils will be created where at least half of the council's members will be elected at work-place consultations. At the smaller enterprises it is the elected leadership and at the bigger enterprises it is the enterprise council that elects the director and exercises employer rights. The other enterprises will operate under a direct state management form. The new honorable and, at the same time, responsible tasks of the trade union organs and bodies include the creation of the new democratic forms and preparing their members for their new tasks, for the exercise of their rights.

[Diosdi] Does this volume of new tasks, which involves a truly great responsibility, call for a reappraisal of trade union work?

[Roland] It does not, as far as its content and objective are concerned. There is no reason to carry out essential changes in the road which the abovementioned MSZMP Central Committee posision has also confirmed; however, there is with regard to the methods. A very favorable phase of the development of trade union activity is behind us. We are in a good position, with a political program before us which opens up wide areas of maneuver for an even fuller development of our activity. The Hungarian trade union movement also has internationally recognized achievements in promoting the construction of socialist society, in defending the interests of the workers, in their education, and in expanding international relations. These represent good foundations for further progress. At the same time, to use a fashionable expression, maintaining the current level is not enough; the activity of the trade unions must also be developed.

[Diosdi] The rights of the trade unions have been assured institutionally for a long time. These rights, I believe, will not change as a result of the new management and enterprise management forms. What are, then, the new elements that must be introduced into the movement in order to keep abreast of things?

[Roland] As far as trade union rights are concerned, there will be no change. There will be a change, however, in the forms of asserting these rights. Therefore, there is a need to thoroughly analyze the demands placed on the movement by the economic processes, demands that can already be felt and will be felt even more in the near future. If we adjust our activity to the greater demands in time, we can reach a position in which we can optimally represent the interests of the members and of the entire society during the phase of changes, and even more so in the period following them.

[Diosdi] Demand -- we are using this expression a lot lately, maybe too often. Please explain what you mean more precisely.

[Roland] The current trade union work style adjusts to a determined system of decisions, so it must be synchronized with the new decision practice now being formed. If we do not do this, the existing trade union democratic forms and methods can become jaded, no matter how successful they are.

This, of course, can and must be avoided. With the increase in independence, the enterprise's economic achievements exercise a greater influence on each worker and on the entire collective. But we are not only talking about material interest. If the workers have the possibility of electing the enterprises' managers, when it becomes clearer to them that it is worth caring for the enterprises' affairs, then much more is involved than mere material interest. A moral basis and a sense of responsibility slowly accumulate, a sense that if the worker takes part in making decisions on tasks and in electing the manager, then sooner or later he must relate differently, with more responsibility for their implementation. This increasingly conscious participation is what we regard as the owner's responsibility. The possibilities of the trade unions' workplace activities are built on such foundations; therefore it is natural that their responsibility and methods must adjust to these foundations.

The trade union committees must consider how it is possible to make the large and small collectives put their heads together, and how the knowledge and enthusiasm hidden in the collectives can be brought to the surface and multilaterally exploited. An important role in this is played by more open joint planning, which takes place before the whole collective, by acceptance of responsibility and the distribution of the existing material incentives.

The trade union will not be forced into the background and will lose its hard-won position nowhere if the trade unions' work methods are able to adjust to the conditions. The trade union can continue to fulfill its mission at a higher level and its social-political influence can further increase if it not only accepts and propagates the correct and necessary measures, but also takes initiatives in their elaboration and implementation and makes new proposals representing realistic alternatives to superficial proposals or those based only on narrow economic-technocratic views, and not only when it is asked to do so. Trade union organs must make their voice heard, define their position, and make it generally known at all times and at every available opportunity. Under the new forms of enterprise management, they must participate in bringing certain ideas and measures into play even more intensively than they do at present. And they must not point out only their concerns as, perhaps, mere "outsiders."

[Diosdi] By virtue of their entitlements, in the future as in the past, the trade unions will have to say yes or no to numerous questions. Is it going to be easier or more difficult to differentiate between these?

[Roland] The trade unions' promotion of socialist construction and mobilization of the working people mean supporting the party's strategic objectives and strengthening the workers' power. We support every economic leader whose efforts serve this purpose and take into consideration the interests of the working people. However, in the course of execution, the trade unions say yes to specific plans of economic leaders after particular joint tasks, a debate, and the development of an accord. This arises from the independence of the trade unions. We collaborate in executing concrete tasks voluntarily and through aggreements reached with our accord. We have disputes with the overwhelming majority of economic leaders, but we do not have conflicts, because our fundamental objectives are identical. However, the situation is never so ideal that it would not be possible to further improve it. There are still a few people who regard trade union participation not as a help but as caviling, who try to set economic-technical rationalism against social-political requirements. It is still not clear to them that socialist government direction can only fulfill the norms of democracy according to its objectives if it ensures broad rights and spheres of activity to the oldest and largest organs which represent the interests of the working people.

[Diosdi] What makes trade union independence credible is whether it expresses genuine interests through its activity, what interests it asserts in its proposals and decisions, is that right?

[Roland] It is the fundamental prerequisite for trade union work, and from now on it will be even more fundamental that the trade union be well aware of the interests it intends to express in its activity. It should recognize the development of realistic group or stratum requirements in good time and help fit them into and assert them in the system of interests. Of course, not only the National Trade Union Council has to fulfill this task; it is a task at every trade union level. This work is more effective and successful where more possibilities are given to the working people to realize and formulate their own interests. There will be a greater possibility for this than previously under the new enterprise management system. However, it is also to be expected that the broader and more open framework will bring more negative phenomena to the surface. Much more than previously, requirements and views could range from timidity to perhaps as far as demagogy. It will be an even more important and responsible trade union task to encourage timid voices and aspirations and to oppose demagogy. I regard it as important that all trade union organizations foster the recognition and unfolding of the true interests of the working people in the spheres of economic activity, efficiency, and quality, just as much as in the spheres of wages and social and cultural issues arising from them. Together with other trade unions they are to create the forums necessary for this and see to it that good experiences are made public; for, to be sure, we are all going to master this new system of economic management together including trade union work, sometimes, perhaps, even at our own expense.

The brakes supporting the initiative must be loosened. In this a great deal depends on the party organs, the trade unions, and the economic leaders with whom we are going to develop the new organizatiwnal forms of the working people. Their agreement and support is certain to accelerate this activity. An accord in principle is at hand at every level for this. The next step is for this accord to prevail everywhere, in everyday relations of partnership as well.

NEWSPAPERS COMMENT ON U.S. ELECTION RESULTS

Continued Arms Race Expected

LD081331 Warsaw PAP in English 1120 GMT 8 Nov 84

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw 8 Nov — Commenting on the results of the presidential elections in the U.S., the Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote: "Reagan has won primarily thanks to the [words indistinct] policy of force extended by the majority of the electorate motivated by super-power-like chauvinism. The Reagan administration will be undoubtedly encouraged with such election results to continue its to-date policy of arms race and brutal use of force aimed at imposing Washington's hegemony wherever it is possible.

"The consequences of the still-continuing arms race will certainly burden the entire development of the international situation in Ronald Reagan's second term of office.

"Of course, such prospects would not contribute to improving external conditions of the socialist building in states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty, and especially in Poland. While untiringly continuing -- along with the Soviet Union and the remaining states of our community -- efforts aimed at improving the international political atmosphere, at improving relations also with the U.S. -- we must, however, be prepared to further face hostile attacks and every sympotom of the White House's ill will," the paper said.

"The White House will house the most conservative President since Hoover's times, one who has already announced that the continuation of his policies will mean an optimistic future for the U.S. This means a strong and armed America, welfare for the rich, and the deepening of the process of right-wing welfare actions," wrote ZYCIE WARSZAWY on the same subject.

"It is a significant fact, however, that conservative America is afraid of further arms race and a possibility of an outbreak of nuclear conflict, and is anxious about the present state of relations with the USSR. Reagan must have realized this. Hence, his promises of actions aimed to open up a dialogue with the USSR. Not the first ones, actually. Future will show whether they are reflected in practice," the paper said. "The fact, however, that to-date alignment of forces in the Congress has not changed, that is the Democrats still have an edge in the House of Representatives while the Republicans keep control over the Senate, points out that this switchover to Reagan does not mean a blind mandate for all his policies. The Democrats suffered a crushing defeat. But their warnings against the policy of confrontation and uncontrolled armaments may be raised in the Congress," ZYCIE WARSZAWY stated.

Normal Relations Called For

LD081526 Warsaw PAP in English 1418 GMT 8 Nov 84

["Reagan's Policy: Will it Change?" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 8 -- In a commentary on the result of the U.S. presidential elections, the daily TRYBUNA LUDU stressed that Reagan was elected with votes of only about one-third of 174 million Americans eligible to vote.

The paper also recalled that Reagan's policy during the past term was characterized by "big power mentality, intoxication with force, aggressive demonstration (of the force) against Grenada and dreams of world domination. Such an atmosphere has developed in the U.S. and on such imperial principles Reagan has based his global policy.

"It is true that suddenly Reagan changed his tone at the end of his first four-year term. But, as Minister Gromyko underlined, those declarations of peaceful aims which can be heard in Washington recently are not able to conceal the essence of the militaristic policy of the U.S. and activities which threaten peace. Those declarations are simply not backed up with actions."

"From our, Polish point of view it is difficult not to state that nothing indicates that Reagan has understood that he also was wrong in his policy towards Poland, and that he must undertake steps aimed at complete lifting of the restrictions illegally imposed on Poland, and bring about a return to normal relations with Poland and repair the damages that he has caused," stated TRYBUNA LUDU.

Another Warsaw daily, RZECZPOSPOLITA, asked whether Reagan will change his policy after the elections and wrote that "in an interview for the press and television given at his Los Angeles election headquarters Ronald Reagan answered (that question) saying that he would go on doing what he had declared in 1980. Reagan said he did not intend to change anything in this matter as well as in his personnel policy in his administration.

"Thus one knows which way his policy from the position of force and the striving for world supremacy will follow in the second term," wrote the paper.

'CERTAIN PROGRESS' IN U.S. AIR TRAFFIC TALKS

LD081917 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Talks between Polish and U.S. Government delegations were held in Warsaw on 5-7 November concerning the conclusion of an agreement on restoring air traffic between the two states. As is known, the United States unilaterally broke off the relevant agreement in 1981. The delegations were led by General of Brigade Pilot Jozef Sobieraj and (Samuel Cater).

As anticipated, the talks were difficult, although they were conducted in a businesslike atmosphere. Certain progress was achieved in agreeing on some provisions of the new agreement. Agreement on the most important issues was not reached, however. They will be the subject of the next round of talks, which, according to preliminary agreements, are planned for the beginning of December in Washington.

TRYBUNA LUDU REITERATES DEMANDS OF U.S.

LD051647 Warsaw PAP in English 1406 GMT 5 Nov 84

[Text] Warsaw, November 5 -- Commenting on the note which the Polish Government sent the American Embassy in Warsaw a year ago, dealing with the state of relations between Poland and the United States caused by the hostile American policy and presenting Poland's demands related to this state of affairs, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today that "the American Government did not find it proper to answer the Polish note during that year. This is a matter of diplomatic manners and manners in general, which seldom go together with hegemonic arrogance.

"But even more important is that the American policy did not change. Few partial actions, which Washington tries to present as a 'softening of the course' while leaving in force all crucial restrictions and upholding various political conditions which interfere in Poland's internal matters, cannot be considered as a change," the paper stressed.

"During the year, Poland witnessed constant changes leading to normalization. This fact proves that the hostile activity of American Government did not bring any intended political effects.

"The evaluation of the situation (in Polish-U.S. relations) presented by the Polish Government a year ago as well as Poland's demands of a halt to hostile activities and interference still remain in force", concluded TRYBUNA LUDU.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY CRITICIZES KOR STATEMENT

LD081514 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] We would like to acquaint you with an article published in today's ZYCIE WARSZAWY by Zdzislaw Morawski entitled: "When Reason Sleeps, Monsters Awake".

Recently another group of people connected with the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] published a statement. The statement refers to the PAP commentary, also published in ZYCIE WARSZAWY on 27 and 28 October, which stated: In Zoliborz, in Warsaw, a structure is being set up, and part of the St Stanislaw Kostka presbytery is being occupied contrary to the stance of the proper church authorities. The Western press directly stated that those in occupation ignored the call by Primate Jozef Glemp, who personally asked them to leave the presbytery. The commentary listed names: Jaworski, Kuron, Wojec, Romaszewski, and Onyszkiewicz and said: It is an attempt to take advantage of social outrage in order to bring the maximum number of people to Zoliborz to incite them and to instill hatred in them. There were calls for a strike in the Warsaw steelworks, as if strikes and unrest were the things Poland most desires today, and as if a strike were able to restore life to the kidnapped priest.

In their statement the above mentioned people, connected with the former KOR, defend the participants in the Zoliborz structure. Recalling the PAP commentary and the names mentioned in it, the authors of the statement say: We warn that we are dealing with the same phenomenon of inciting hatred toward people who have reason to feel threatened. The publication demonstrates that the authorities do not try to draw conclusions from the tragedy, thus increasing the feeling of personal threat, tension, and social unrest.

I think the content of the statement demands consideration and moral and political assessment. On the political level, let us say immediately that we are dealing with conscious mystification and open machination. First, it is not true that the activity of the Zoliborz structure in the church presbytery was only known through the PAP commentary. The people who occupied the presbytery did not hide their presence there. On the contrary, they aimed at maximum publicity for their actions. Western radio stations, the press, and news agencies published their names and their numerous state - ments many times. The idea was to reach the Polish community through known broadcasting stations. What is the threat to those persons, that allegedly from the PAP commentary?

Second, the statement alleging that official press criticism of certain antistate political activity aimed at inciting tension could be considered as a threat is a mystification.

Writing about the methods used by those people I am going to use a fresh example: Seweryn Jaworski, a member of this allegedly frightened structure, condemned by PAP, declared to Western journalists in the same occupied Zoliborz presbytery that Father Popieluszko was alive and being detained by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He added that this information was obtained from a reliable source, and that the security service wanted to deport Father Popieluszko.

I don't have to remind you that not a single word of Mr Jaworski's statement is true. He said this while the search for Father Popieluszko was still in progress, and no one knew when and if he would be found. He must have known that he was misleading the public, and that his provocative statement, immediately repeated by all known radio stations, could only cause increased tension and threaten public order, which was also the aim of Father Popieluszko's murders.

The stance of the authors of the abovementioned statement also requires moral assessment. There are among them allegedly persons who are frightened and who protest intimidation but who constantly travel to the West thanks to the passports which they possess, give interviews for Radio Free Europe, which among other things condemns the activity of the militia and the security service, and then calmly and fearlessly return home. Here I have in mind Anna Kowalska who, after a series of interviews for Western radio stations during her stay in France for medical treatment from September 1982 returned to Poland in September 1983. This year she left again, and again made statements for hostile radio stations. Now she is back home feels and personally threatened.

It is the same with Jan Jozef Lipski. I can quote many more statements made by the abovementioned authors, but I do not wish to bore my readers. All I have to say is that the communist totalitarianism about which these people constantly talk, somehow did not materialize in their case.

This statement is an exclusive attempt at a moral assessment of certain persons who at every opportunity quote the church and the 10 Commandments.

And finally, the case of the venerable Professor Edward Lipinski, who recently gave an interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY to mark his 95th birthday. In an open letter to General Wojciech Jaruzelski, he sharply attacked the head of our government. The letter has been broadcast with delight by Western stations. I would like to recall for Prof Lipinski an old French saying that opposites attract. It transpires from the common assessment of Polish and foreign observers that the main objective of the kidnappers, regardless of their political motives, was to undermine the line of the ninth congress, the line of accord and reforms, the line for stability and dialogue. Therefore we agree with the Western press that the provocation was aimed against the line of the party of which Wojciech Jaruzelski is first secretary, but Prof Lipinski does not wish to know about it. Regardless of his motives, Lipinski aims at the same political consequences as the perpetrators of the provocation. This is where fanaticism leads, because this is the only aim of the entire affair. Regardless of how one judges the open letter, it is a univocal political fact.

What conclusion can be drawn from all this? First, that people and forces who benefit from everything which is black and worthy of condemnation in our life wish to take advantage politically of the provocation perpetrated by the murderers of Father Popieluszko. Second, when reason sleeps, monsters awake. Let us not wake them up, and let not allow others to wake them up, for the sake of reason, for the sake of civic dignity, and for the sake of our obvious common interest.

30 OCT NEWS CONFERENCE ADDRESSES POPIELUSZKO CASE

AU071830 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Nov 84 pp 5, 7

["Transcript" of the Warsaw press conference given on 30 October for foreign journalists by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban]

[Excerpts] Kevin Ruane, BBC: Have you anything to add to the present information about the investigations into Father Popieluszko's kidnapping?

As I have said, we are looking for the sponsors of that deed, if there are any sponsors. We still know nothing about any such possibility. The detection of such sponsors is a special concern of the investigations because we want to know who was behind the perpetrators, who gave them orders, and why. We are looking for these sponsors not only with the help of investigations into the actual case of Father Popieluszko, but also with the help of various other investigations into various phenomena in Poland. I want to stress that the facts are not being collected for the sake of any thesis, and this is why I am unable to discuss any hypotheses as to sponsorship that are circulating in the Western press. We are collecting the facts and when they have been collected we will have time to draw general conclusions from them and to classify them.

General Kiszczak has suggested that perhaps there is someone behind the kidnappers and, if this is true, that they are counting on someone's help and are refusing to tell us about the circumstances of the case. Please, do understand that it is very difficult to find the possible sponsors of the deed.

I also want to tell you that special security measures have been provided for the arrested perpetrators, because we do not want them to share the fate of Oswald, the killer of President Kennedy, who was shot by Ruby. Nor do we want them to share the fate of the Baader-Meinhof group that was massacred in a penitentiary in the FRG. These security measures involve a special method of feeding, the doubling of guards, which check on one another, and many other special means to ensure that no surprises can occur. This continues to be related to the hypothesis that the perpetrators may have some accomplices who are very powerful.

David Storey, Reuter: In his sermon at the Stanislaw Kostka Church on Sunday a priest recalled the press attacks and their fierceness against Father Popieluszko. He recalled in this connection a recent article written by Jan Rem in TU I TERAZ. Many people think that Jan Rem is none other than Minister Urban. Would you comment?

Urban: No, I will not. I will neither deny nor confirm anything. It is not nice to decode noms de plume. Journalistic courts provide punishment for such decoding. What I can tell you is that the attitude of the state and party authorities toward the activities that involve exploiting churches and other places of religious rites for political actions that have nothing to do with religion has been defined on various occasions, including the last Central Committee plenum. This negative attitude has not changed in any way. Various commentaries that imply that a political polemicist is responsible for subsequent tragic events are absurd. If we assume that political polemics amount to inciting one to commit a crime against the person with whom one polemicizes, then I have to caution you that if any member of the Polish authorities comes to even the most negligible harm, all Western correspondents in Poland will be regarded as morally guilty of this harm.

Do the gentlemen from the Western media feel morally guilty of the manslaughter of Sergeant Karos? Speaking of the authorities, I would like to express my astonishment that Mr Boyes of THE TIMES has noted that the Polish Government has panicked. I do not know what synptoms of panic he has noticed.

Daniel Fischer, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES: Do the three arrested officers belong to the security service or to the Citizens' Militia? Has the arrest of two officers in Gdansk for cooperation with conspiratorial groups anything to do with Popieluszko's case?

Urban: The three officers did belong to the security service. As for your second question, I am unable to say whether the arrest has anything to do with Popieluszko's case. We simply do not know. Besides, for the good of investigations at this stage, I have nothing to say about the background of the arrest of the two officers in Gdansk.

JOURNAL COMMERCE [questioner not named]: Have there been any changes in Polish-American relations since the Polish statement on these relations was published last August, if I am not mistaken? What is the present situation of Polish-American air communications?

Urban: Generally speaking there have been no changes in Polish-American relations. They are as bad as ever. As for Polish-American air links, Poland continues charter flights to the United States on the principle of reciprocity. The issue of resuming regular air communications will be discussed. The American side wants such discussion, but the Polish side has to decide first whether regular air communications are in Poland's economic interests, among other interests.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: I hope you will forgive my asking you several questions. My first question is on your answer to my previous question and concerns the kidnappers. You said that they had tried to destroy evidence by falsifying the entries in the motor vehicle's log book, but General Kiszczak said in his statement that they had intentionally falsified these entries in order to lead the investigators to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Is there a contradiction in these two statements? My second question concerns the summary proceedings for offenses in Gdansk or Wroclaw. These proceedings have supposedly been reintroduced these days. Could you comment on this? My third question concerns the party membership of the kidnappers, and my fourth question is about the education of the youngest of the kidnappers -- Chmielewski. Where did he graduate?

Urban: There is no conflict between what General Kiszczak said and what I said. The kidnappers tried to destroy the evidence that would personally betray them as murderers, but the impression was and a hypothesis has been put forward, as General Kiszczak said, that they also tried to behave in such a way as to lead the investigators searching for the kidnappers to the Ministry of Internal Affairs as a whole. They tried to avoid arrest and indictment while endeavoring to make investigators think that the kidnapping was committed by someone from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, from the militia, as the militia uniform found at the place of the kidnapping might suggest.

As for summary court proceedings, which involve speedy trials, they are in force in nine voivodships and have been introduced by the decisions of voivodas in Warsaw, Gdansk, and Wroclaw Voivodships, among other voivodships. These proceedings have been valid in most of these voivodships for a long time. They can be instituted by the voivodas for a variety of reasons, including large-scale sporting events and intensified features of city hooliganism.

We have information -- I do not know where I have it at the moment -- that the Western press has reported that martial law has been introduced in Gdansk and Wroclaw. This is arrant nonsense. The summary proceedings are nothing more than accelerated trials of the offenses that can and should be tried as soon as possible. They are like some of the lowest courts in Western Europe and have nothing to do with emergency situations. The intention is to simplify proceedings in transparent cases and to punish offenders rapidly. He who breaks a show window should be punished as soon as possible and should not wait several months for his trial when he has already forgotten everything, including his inebriation.

I will not say anything about party membership of the kidnappers. As for Chmielewski's education, I know nothing about it. I have not gathered such details about him. The spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will certainly tell you all about Chmielewski's education.

David Ensor, ABC News: Two questions in order to clarify the government's attitude toward Father Popieluszko before he was kidnapped. Does the government think that Father Popieluszko abused his status as a priest and the Catholic Church for nonreligious purposes? My other question concerns the reports, most probably press reports, to the effect that in Father Popielszko's church some sessions of hatred were held and that he read black masses.

Urban: This is not a suitable moment to evaluate Father Popieluszko's past political activities. This was one question, what is the second question?

Charles Gans, AP: General Kiszczak said that the two lieutenants suspected of kidnapping Father Popieluszko were defending themselves in the style of the Nuremberg trial by claiming that they had carried out superior orders. This may give rise to certain doubts as to whether the government intends to take any measures seeking (the question was broken off at this moment and was repeated in a new tenor) There have been certain incidents and reports indicating that even Father Popieluszko himself spoke of the threats addressed to him. There are reports of threats addressed to the opposition. This incident took palce in the St Martin's Church. Does anyone directly or indirectly committed or not committed to the case of Father Popieluszko, does the government, and do the authorities take any disciplinary measures against the department of security to restore people's trust in its activities, motives, and measures?

Urban: The entire construction of your question expresses a logic I reject. I reject the assertion that there have been incidents and reports of threats. Certainly, threats continue to be addressed to various people and incidents continue to take place, but what you say is so general and vague that it is difficult to take a stand on it. You have mentioned an incident in St Martin's Church. In defiance of some suggestions in the Western press I have often explained that no mysterious men invaded St Martin's Church. This church was entered by a group of militiamen in line with their orders and the law because they wanted to apprehend persons who had behaved aggressively in the streets and had provoked a brawl. Aside from this, a certain offense against their official conduct was committed later by these militiamen in that church. There can be no justification for connecting this event with the illegal, lawless, and murderous action of the three persons now in custody.

Bernard Margueritte, EL FIGARO: The statements of these three persons about Father Popieluszko's fate are indeed surprising in their contradiction. Could one explanation for this be the fact that other perpetrators and another car were at the scene, and that Father Popieluszko was taken away in this car. Do the investigations rule out such a possibility?

Also, you have spoken about possible powerful backers of the three men. Yesterday, the Italian communist daily L'UNITA wrote that these foreign backers could be abroad. Do the investigations so far permit or exclude such a theory? And, for the sake of general information, do the Polich investigating authorities have the right to carry out their investigations on extraterritorial premises inside Poland, or do international agreements forbid this? Finally, the plenum has expressed its support for and confidence in General Kiszczak, yet there was not a single word about Mr Milewski, who as far as I know supervises the Interior Ministry, inside the Politburo. Could you explain why not?

Urban: Whether or not it is possible that another car took Father Popieluszko away, let me say that we are in a hall where various possibilities are discussed in private. You and I could put forward 100 other similar theories and ask whether they are possible. I can only say in general terms that the investigations do not rule out any possibility in advance, and that the investigations are very comprehensive and full. Quite simply, the greatest number of facts are being sought and pieced together. A huge number of details is involved. They will be revealed after they have been checked and when individual stages of the investigations permit this.

Can one rule out L'UNITA's theory that the backers could be abroad? I think one can. No, let me retract that statement. Right now it is difficult to foresee anything. I retract the statement that such a theory by hostile intelligence services can be ruled out because right now, as I have said, no theory is being ruled out.

Can the Polish investigation authorities carry out investigations on foreign territory inside Poland? I reject the suggestion pervading this question with disgust. Legal relations are governed by agreements. The Polish investigation authorities and their powers are bound by them. It is not important what these agreements involve in detail, but I wish to reject the suggestion inherent in your question whereby some clues in the case could lead to military bases in Poland. This is, quote, simply nonsense.

David Ensor, ABC: There are reports that a demonstration involving several hundred people was broken up in Wroclaw yesterday. Is this untrue?

Urban: It is untrue. There has been no demonstration in Wroclaw, although one had been planned. Therefore, no one has been dispersed there.

SPD DELEGATION TALKS WITH PZPR OFFICIALS

LD081913 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] The delegation of the SPD Group in the West German Bundestag, which includes the group's chairman and SPD vice chairman, Hans-Jochen Vogel, and which is in Poland on an official visit, has paid a visit to the Sejm, where it met with members of the PZPR parliamentary party. Its chairman, Kazimierz Barcikowski, explained the socio-political situation in Poland stressing the lasting, positive trends in the economy and in social life. The murder of Father Popieluszko, aimed against the line of agreement being implemented by the authorities and also against state-church relations, was a real blow to the process of stabilization, he stated. Speaking about relations between the PPR and the FRG, Kazimierz Barcikowski (?indicated) their distinct setback in the recent period, caused by West German revisionism.

Hans-Jochen Vogel reported on the situation in the FRG, including the struggle against unemployment, efforts to ensure social justice, and removal of damage to the natural environment as some of his country's main problems. Speaking about the crime committed against Father Popieluszko, Hans-Jochen Vogel said that, as a minister of justice in the past few years, he has a great deal of experience in combating terrorism and can recognize the objectives of crime. He acknowledged the explanations as convincing and stated the investigation is being conducted. He admitted that the pronouncements concerning Poland's frontiers as well as those concerning the issue of the alleged German minority in Poland are irresponsible.

The delegation was also received by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. During the meeting, the West German guest declared that the SPD welcomes with satisfaction the reforms being introduced in Poland. Only a few years ago, he said, nobody would have believed that Poland was capable of such serious and creative changes.

PZPR'S MOKRZYSZCZAK CRITICIZES U.S. AT PCP RALLY

PM061601 Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 18 Oct 84 p 3

[Speech by PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak at 13 October friendship rally in Almada]

[Text] Dear Comrade Cunhal, esteemed comrades, dear Portuguese friends, please accept the best, most cordial communist wishes of the PZPR Central Committee and the personal wishes of PZPR Central Committee First Secretary and Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski, as well as those of the Polish workers, all communists in our country, and our delegation which is here at your invitation.

We are sincerely happy to have had this opportunity to visit your lovely region and meet with the inhabitants of Almada and members of the PCP, with which we maintain particularly close and cordial contacts. Through these joint actions, the Polish and Portuguese communists enrich the ties of friendship linking our nations. On several occasions we have exchanged views openly and in a consistently principled manner on our successes and difficulties.

We greatly appreciate the PCP's principled attitude, consistently displayed since the start of our difficulties. We appreciate the confidence and understanding with which you have viewed the actions undertaken by the PZPR, despite the violent attacks leveled against your party by reaction in Portugal.

The Polish communists feel enormous esteem for your party and for its secretary general, Comrade Alvaro Cunhal. The PCP enjoys the highest regard for the contributions it has made to your country's transformations and for its tireless activity in defense of the working class and Portugal's working masses, as well as for its contribution to consolidation of the international communist and workers movement. Comrade A. Cunhal's visit to Poland in April 1982 left us unforgettable impressions.

Dear comrades, we maintain many diverse contacts with your party, the PCP. We regard these contacts and the mutual cooperation as exemplary in relation to all the Western communist and workers parties.

Polish communists view with high regard your party's consistent struggle in defense of the workers' interests, for the consolidation of democracy, in defense of the gains of the April 1984 revolution, and for the consolidation of the Portuguese communists' domestic and international position. Your party's 10th congress demonstrated the progress which you have achieved in your struggle -- a struggle for which, I would like to emphasize clearly once more in this place, you can always count on our solidarity and support.

Dear comrades, socialism's opponents in Poland and outside Poland have suffered a defeat and every attempt to call into question socialism, our alliances, and our principled policy is and will be doomed to defeat. There will be no return to the situation prior to December 1981.

The PZPR, enriched by the experiences of the past few years and a party currently possessing over 2.1 million members, is being consolidated and is becoming more active, implementing the program of socialist renewal approved at the July 1981 special congress. Considering our party's working class nature, we are broadening its field of influence to include nonparty workers, too. We invited 800 outstanding workers, who are not Central Committee members and half of whom are nonparty, to the last Central Committee plenum. This measure was well received by everyone, and we will continue this course.

The socialist state's structures are becoming stronger and our economy is reviving through consistently introduced economic reform. This was confirmed, moreover, by the 14th Central Committee plenum; increasing support is being won for its line of broad national understanding, the expression of which is the expansion of The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] which, in addition to the party, comprises the allied parties, the Catholics, and nonparty people. The workers' trade unions, independent of the administration, are becoming stronger, possessing now over 4.7 million members -- that is, 40 percent of the workers. The workers' self-management bodies in the enterprises are becoming more active.

There are still several difficulties, but we are on the right road to surmounting them.

One sign of the increasing normalization in our country was the results of the elections to the regional councils in June of this year, as was the amnesty proclaimed on the occasion of the 40th anniversary, of which we took advantage to present the successes which we have achieved over the past 40 years.

This visible progress arouses among our opponents feelings of displeasure and openly expressed disappointment. This finds expression in the policy of economic restrictions and overt interference in our country's internal affairs pursued by the current U.S. Administration. We resolutely reject this policy as an unlawful policy, incompatible with the UN Charter and the CSCE Final Act. We appreciate the policy of the governments and political and economic circles which are in fact resisting this U.S. diktat.

Poland was and is an important factor for the maintenance of peace in Europe and an active participant in dialogue and understanding on our continent and in the world.

Aware of this, we will continue our efforts for peace. We will strengthen our ties of friendship and cooperation with our closest ally -- the Soviet Union -- and the states of the socialist community, which have given us economic assistance, confidence, and the faith that we will be able with our own resources to dispel the dangers threatening socialism.

At the same time, we are prepared to develop relations based on equality of rights and mutual advantage and to increase cooperation with all partners who respect the principles and rules of international coexistence and of noninterference in internal affairs. We are deeply convinced that by following this path Poland will recover and strengthen [illegible] position in international relations.

Dear comrades, the international situation causes us great concern. We are confronted with an arms race and the increasing danger of a world nuclear confrontation. The U.S. Administration has begun the deployment in Europe of new kinds of missiles with nuclear warheads, which upsets the existing balance of forces and has destroyed the foundations of Soviet-U.S. disarmament negotiations. The Reagan administration's aim, proclaimed during the presidential election campaign, is to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. A determined struggle by all communists and all the forces of progress and reason in the world to preserve peace is an immediate necessity. The initiatives of the USSR and the socialist community countries are of the utmost importance.

The Polish nation, with its painful experiences of World War II and its awareness of the close connections existing between Poland's security and the interests of peace in Europe and in the world, is conscious of its particular responsibility for making other nations aware of the danger threatening us.

Dear comrades, on behalf of all Polish communists, we wish for you that the PCP will be strengthened and consolidate its vanguard position in the struggle for social progress, for the triumph of socialism's ideals, and for the creation of new prospects of development for your beautiful fatherland -- Portugal.

Long live the PCP!

May the fraternal ties between the PZPR and the PCP and between our nations -- Poland and Portugal -- live and be strengthened!

May peace and socialism triumph!

OFFICIALS DISCUSS 1985 DRAFT ANNUAL PLAN

LD081449 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 7 -- The Government Committee for Trade Union Affairs, attended by chairmen of nationwide trade union organizations, discussed today draft annual plan for 1985 and the outcome of social consultation on the plan.

Chairman of the Government Planning Commission Vice-Premier Manfred Gorywoda pointed out that opinions and signals from trade unionists helped shape basic proportions of the plan and fix detailed items.

What trade unions consider to be the main goal for 1985 is a tangible improvement in the market balance, lowered rate of inflation, maintenance of the present living standards of working people. To this end it is necessary to pursue an appropriate price policy which should also safeguard a possibility to give up food rationing.

In order to keep an adequate level of working people's living standards, there is a need for a full revaluation of old age and disability pensions, family allowances, minimum pays and factory welfare and housing funds.

Trade unionists demand that conditions be secured for increased nominal pay , which would generally live up to growing living costs. This should be helped by the introduction of instruments that would make it possible to implement the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

This should be accompanied by appropriate price policy in relation to those professional groups where increased remunerations cannot be directly interrelated with tangible effects of work, and by shaping proper relations of incomes within the groups in question with the incomes of those employed in the sphere of material production.

Minister of Home Trade and Services Anna Kedzierska and Minister for Prices Zdzislaw Krasinski reported on the ongoing works on the method to give up the rationing of some foodstuffs and on possible social, economic, organizational and technical repercussions that might follow such a decision.

Taking the floor at the close of the debate, Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Takowski said that trade unions' stance will be annexed to the draft central annual plan and submitted shortly to the Council of Ministers. Trade unions will be told which of their proposals have been accepted and which have not, and why.

"I think the following conclusion can be drawn from today's meeting: Trade unions' presence in the country's social and economic life becomes increasingly conspicuous, which reaffirms the correctness of the concept of reconstructuring trade union movement under the law on trade unions," Rakowski opined. "Any attempts to revive the discussion on the need to return to the former union structures mean unnecessary waste of time and energy, whereas the renascent trade unions, employees' self-management and PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] are and will continue to be the only plane for the dialogue between the authorities and society," he stressed.

MOKRZYSZCZAK INTERVIEWED ON PARTY CONSULTATIONS

AU061436 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Nov 84 p 3

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Commitete secretary, by Anna Pawlowska: "The Harvest of Consultations"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Pawlowska] Over 200,000 employees from 760 industrial plants replied in August and September to almost 50 questions put to them by the Central Committee, which sought the best possible solutions to problems posed by the 16th party plenum. This was the first time that last May's Politburo resolution on culsultations had been applied in practice. The results of this poll were summed up by the Politburo session 2 weeks ago and were made available to the institutions and organizations concerned. Does this close the problem?

[Mokrzyszczak] No, the problem is still very much open. We are required to publish the results of consultations and we will do this in TRYBUNA LUDU in the near future. We have stressed that we seek workers views in order to use these in our party, state, and legal decisions affecting the workers. During the preparations for the 17th plenum these consultations supplied us with additional knowledge of workers views about the contacts between the people's councillors and work forces, about the powers of the people's councils and their commissions to grant concessions for private production and trade activities, and about the state's social policy. The results of these consultations show that there is a rather general wish for a state that is efficient and for control that is effective. The course of the 17th plenum confirmed this wish.

However, the answers to our questions on individual issues were extremely varied and showed a very great range of views. Only very few questions were answered in a clear "yes" or "no."

[Pawlowska] Does this create difficulties?

[Mokrzyszczak] Yes, but these are instructive difficulties, because they teach us to be more careful in using such expressions as "the workers class takes the view." This is an important warning for the party, one that involves many political and decision consequences not only for the problems that are subjected to consultations, but others as well.

[Pawlowska] There are people who claim that the results of consultations were affected by the errors in carrying out these consultations.

[Mokrzyszczak] No doubt. Today we know that we wanted to obtain too much information on a single occasion. Our questions touched upon too many subjects. What is worse, we wanted to get this information too quickly. We did not bother to ensure that the people asked to answer our questions had the time to study the subjects involved.

The poll indicated that people even have no knowledge of the basic Sejm laws concerning the life of our enterprises. This is also a hint for the party, the party cells in enterprises, and for workers party organizations.

Although not free from defects, the consultation meetings were very popular, as attested to by the numbers and militancy of those who participated in them.

[Pawlowska] Do minority views count in consultations?

[Mokrzyszczak] Yes, they do to a very great extent. In the case of every issue under consultation we must take into consideration the ratio between the majority and minority views. For example, the ratio 85 to 15 has a different meaning than the ratio of 52 to 48. On the other hand, a very small minority of views could and should stimulate efforts to make corrections to and influence the form of the final decision.

[Pawlowska] The Politburo resolution on consultations does not state that they are for the exclusive benefit of the Central Committee....

[Mokrzyszczak] On the contrary, this resolution enables the entire party to profit from consultations and encourages it to do so. The Central Committee will continue to use consultations and polls and will improve them, but it will not issue instructions to any party cells. Consultations must not be practiced for the sake of consultations, a fad, or the wish to prove oneself. Moreover, we would never be able to do anything if we tried to consult on every measure we take and every decision we make. Party cells have their own statutory powers and resolutions of party conferences that have to be implemented. They also have the resolutions for order and democratic centralism in the party. Nor can they be used as a screen to protect against responsibility. Consultations can be of valuable help when drastic differences in views prevail in connection with an issue; when it is necessary to establish a hierarchy of socially important problems; when a concept appears that is risky, but that raises hopes; when clearly alternative solutions to a question are available, and so on and so forth. In such cases it is worth consulting the people, not to have an "alibi" or for the sake of a "tactical delay" but to obtain their views.

It is necessary to hold consultations with people in order to make wiser decisions, to expand the share of party members and nonparty people in the process of decisionmaking and to protect against arrogance, excessive self-confidence, and belief in infallibility. This is very important for the party.

JARUZELSKI, SIWICKI AT BRIEFING FOR COMMANDERS

LD081927 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Today in Warsaw a briefing was held for the commanders of the PPR Armed Forces. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers and commander in chief of the PPR Armed Forces, took part. The briefing was conducted by Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense. During the briefing the implementation of training and education tasks in 1984 was assessed. The trends for the activities of the Armed Forces in this respect in 1985 were defined, as were the tasks that arise from the resolution of the 17th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Attention was drawn to the dangerous increase in the threat to peace by the imperialist forces, which also strikes at the security of our country. The need was stressed for consolidating the defense capability of the socialist community in close cooperation with the Warsaw Pact armies, and for guaranteeing the peaceful existence of our nation and socialist state.

Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, commander in chief of the Armed Forces, expressed his thanks for the selfless and effective training and education activity and for the exemplary service and work for the good of People's Poland. He also conveyed to the meeting's participants his cordial wishes for further achievements in the performance of their responsible tasks and of their soldierly and civic duties.

Representatives of outstanding tactical groupings, units and military colleges were awarded medals commemorating their distinguished achievements in the Army.

PASSENGER, FREIGHT COST TO RISE ON TRAINS, BUSES

LD081906 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Excerpt] The Ministry of Transport announces that as from 12 November fares for single trips by train and on PKS buses will go up by an average of 50 percent. Charges for express rail parcels will also go up by 50 percent and the forwarding of luggage by 25 percent. Transport of luggage by PKS will cost from Z25 to 100.

Beginning on 1 January the price of season tickets will increase by an average of 50 percent. This applies to work, school, and general use tickets, both for train and PKS journeys.

Tariff reductions will remain unchanged for the time being. These changes will constitute the second stage of the gradual reform of passenger tariffs and are designed to reduce state budget subsidies for passenger transport. At present the price of train and PKS bus tickets are well below the cost of the passenger transport. This year some Z80 billion is earmarked for subsidies. It is estimated that with unchanged tariffs next year the subsidy would go up to nearly Z120 billion. The current increase in charges will make it possible to reduce them to Z95 billion.

FRG REQUESTS EXPULSION OF FIVE DIPLOMATS

LD081729 Hamburg DPA in German 1655 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Bonn, 8 Nov (DPA) -- According to the Bonn daily newspaper DIE WELT, the German counterespionage service is demanding that five Romanian diplomats leave the Federal Republic immediately because of involvement in "criminal activities." The paper reports in its Friday edition that investigations by the counterespionage service have revealed that all five Romanians are officers in the Romanian intelligence service.

According to DIE WELT, the Romanians are accused of preparing a bomb attack against Radio Free Europe in Munich, robbing a Romanian emigree in Cologne, and attempting the abduction of a Romanian who had received political asylum in the Federal Republic.

Those involved are Councillor Constantin Ciobanu, who is regarded as the "resident" of the secret service in Bonn; First Secretary Ioan Lup, Second Secretaries Dan Mihoc and Ion Grecu, and Third Secretary Ion Constantin. Mihoc is regarded as a "leading officer" in the intelligence service.

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES REAGAN ON REELECTION

AU082040 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2025 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 8/11/1984 -- Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu has sent warm congratulations and best wishes of health and success to President Ronald Reagan on his re-election to the high office of president of the United States.

The Romanian head of state's telegram further reads:

I wish the fruitful dialogue we established together to continue and the political, economic, technological, scientific and other kinds of relations to continue between our countries, based on equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

I also consider that we will continue the exchange of views and will expand in future the collaboration between the two countries on an international plane, for a policy of peace, detente, collaboration and observance of independence of all nations, for disarmament, nuclear above all, thus meeting our peoples and all peoples' fundamental aspirations after living in peace and security so as to be able to devote their forces to continuously improving their welfare and prosperity.

LEADERS CONGRATULATE SOVIETS ON GOSR ANNIVERSARY

AU081149 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Nov 84 p 5

[Greetings message from President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers on occasion of the Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow:

On the national day of the Soviet Union, the 67th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR], we wish to extend fraternal greetings, warm congratulations, and best wishes to the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and to all Communists and all working people in the Soviet Union on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of the SR of Romania, and on our own behalf.

The victory of the GOSR, which was the crowning of the revolutionary struggle waged by the Russian proletariat led by the Communist Party created by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, opened a new era in the life and destiny of Russia and in mankind's history.

In the more than 6 and 1/2 decades that have elapsed since that event, the Soviet peoples have registered, through heroic work, noteworthy successes under the leadership of the CPSU in the work of building socialism and communism, thus turning their homeland into a modern socialist country with a powerful economic, scientific-technological, and cultural potential.

The Communists and all our people sincerely rejoice and greatly value those achievements, viewing them as an outstanding contribution to increasing the strength and influence of socialism in the world, and as a contribution to the struggle for defending peace in the world.

The RCP and the SR of Romania are constantly acting to continuously strengthen fraternal friendship and multifaceted cooperation with the CPSU and the Soviet Union in the spirit of the principles laid down in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and the joint declaration of November 1976, and in the spirit of understandings concluded within summit talks.

We want to take this opportunity to express our firm conviction that by acting together to implement the understandings agreed upon during the fruitful talks we conducted in Moscow in June of this year, close cooperation between our countries, parties, and peoples at a political, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural level, cooperation in other areas of common interest will continue to develop and intensify to the benefit of the Romanian and Soviet peoples and the cause of socialism, peace, and progress throughout the world.

We also want to reiterate our determination to expand active cooperation between our parties and countries in the international arena in the belief that now more than ever urgent and energetic measures are required on behalf of all large and small states, and all democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces to halt the arms race; to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament; to eliminate the medium-range nuclear missiles and any kind of nuclear weapons from Europe; to safeguard peace; and to free peoples from the danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

On this great anniversary, we want to convey again, dear comrades, sincere wishes for new and important successes to you and to the Communists and Soviet peoples in the construction of communism, in implementing the 26th CPSU Congress decisions and those of the party's Central Committee aimed at the constant flourishing of our great neighbor and friend, the Soviet Union, and in the struggle for peace, detente, and international cooperation.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government fo the SR of Romania

SOCIOECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH USSR REVIEWED

AU081240 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Nov 84 p 5

[Excerpt] The Communists in Romania and all Romanian people greatly value and rejoice at the tremendous achievements registered by the Soviet peoples in the construction of socialism and communism. The anniversary of Great October is a fresh opportunity to stress the constant development of relations of friendship and cooperation between our peoples, relations of longstanding traditions in the struggle for freedom and a better life.

Established on the lasting foundation of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and comradely assistance, these relations have developed and continue to develop constantly in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance of 1948, which was renewed and developed in 1970, and in the spirit of the joint declaration signed at summit level in November 1976.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly stressed the particular importance our country attaches, within the general framework of relations of friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries, to developing active and multifaceted cooperation with the Soviet Union, this being a programmatic and precise guideline for the overall international activity carried out by the RCP and the SR of Romania.

The constantly upward evolution of the fruitful Romanian-Soviet relations underscores the decisive role played by the close relations of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and the CPSU in developing relations, and, within this framework, it underscores the particular importance of summit meetings and talks. In this context, of particular importance were the talks in Moscow on 4 June 1984 between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Konstantin Chernenko. The joint conclusions and agreements reached on that occasion were a major contribution to giving an impetus to overall cooperation between the two countries, parties, and peoples in successfully building the new system to assert the strength and prestige of socialism in the world.

Within the framework of Romanian-Soviet relations, economic cooperation holds an important place. The Soviet Union constantly ranks first in our country's overall foreign economic relations: exchange of material assets is increasing with every passing year; production specialization and sharing are expanding; coordination of the national economic plans of the two countries constantly offers additional possibilities to develop cooperation and increase mutual deliveries of machinery, installations, equipment, and raw materials to meet the requirements of the national economies of the two countries.

Collaboration and cooperation in science, technology, and culture are developing positively with a view to achieving better mutual knowledge and promoting friendship between our peoples. The exchange of experience at party and state levels is developing, as is the exchange between mass and civic organizations, and the exchange in various fields of building the new system.

Relations between the two countries are seconded by their international cooperation. Romania and the Soviet Union are consistently striving to safeguard mankind from nuclear danger, to ensure peace in Europe and throughout the world, to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, to improve the international situation, and to bring about the resumption of the policy of detente and cooperation among all countries and peoples.

Developing relations of friendship and fruitful and multifaceted cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union in keeping with their mutual interests is an important contribution to implementing the Romanian and Soviet Union socioeconomic development programs on the road to socialism and communism, and it is a contribution to the cause of unity and cooperation among the socialist countries and among all revolutionary and progressive forces in the struggle for progress and peace throughout the world.

COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS PREPARE FOR RCP CONGRESS

AU072053 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1931 GMT 7 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES -- 7/11/1984 -- After the report and election meetings in the RCP organizations in enterprises, institutions, farm units, conferences of commune, town, municipal and Bucharest district organizations of the party, a new important stage in preparing the 13th congress of the RCP started in Romania on November 7: the county party organizations' conferences. The conferences, which took place in 18 county seats, were participated in by the members of the county party committees and of the auditing commissions of the respective organizations, the delegates elected at the conferences of commune, town and municipal party organizations, members and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP and secretaries of the CC of the RCP. Members of the CC of the RCP, of the government, representatives of central institutions, mass and public organizations also took part.

Political moments of great importance of the monolithic unity of the Romanian Communist Party, of all party members, the conferences highlighted the full adhesion of the Romanian Communists, of all working people -- Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities -- to the resolution of the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP of June regarding Nicolae Ceausescu's reelection, at the 13th congress, to the supreme party office. The conferences endorsed in this connection their own resolutions whereby the delegates to the congress were commissioned to sustain Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election to the office of RCP general secretary.

Starting from the outstanding importance of the political, economic and social tasks the county RCP committees had to fulfil, their report and election conferences debated, in close connection with the documents to be endorsed at the congress, the socio-economic development plans of the respective counties for 1986-1990, analyzed the way in which the party bodies and organizations fulfilled their role in running the entire activity, the measures to be taken for covering best all domains of activity, for strengthening and enlarging permanently the links with the masses of working people in towns and villages and endorsed measures for enhancing their organizational and political capacity in view of mobilizing all forces in the fulfillment of the plan tasks for 1984 and 1985 and the preparation of the necessary prerequisites for the attainment of the next five-year plan targets. The debates focused on the analysis of how the resolutions of the 12th RCP Congress and the RCP National Conference were carried out, with emphasis on the correctness of these resolutions, on their role in the flourishing of all localities, of the respective counties, in the general development of the country in the period elapsed since the latest congress.

The conferences were highly appreciative of the decisive role of President Nicolae Ceausescu in the elaboration and translation into fact of the entire policy of RCP and Romanian state, of the programmes of multilateral development and flourishing of the country, in the strengthening of the party's leading role, in the historic successes of the Romanian people in between the two congresses.

The delegates debated and approved the draft directives of the 13th RCP Congress. Analyzing the activity carried out by party bodies and organizations for the fulfilment of the targets of the 12th RCP Congress and the RCP National Conference and of the tasks deriving from the plans of socio-economic development by territory over 1986-1990, the conferences focused on the problems related to the socio-economic development of the counties, setting measures for the improvement of the economic and social activity, the attainment of all plan indices, efficient use of material and human resources existing in each county. Special attention was paid to observing the contracts with foreign partners, raising the technical and qualitative standards of products, increasing labour productivity, better using production units, strictly saving and making better use of raw materials, fuel and energy, cutting production costs, material spending in particular and substantially rasing economic efficiency in all fields of activity.

During the debates, pride of place was given to the development and updating of agriculture, basic branch of the Romanian economy, the rise in the standard of living of working people, the continuous growth of the quality of life and the improvement of the forms of democratic government. The participants in the conferences also expressed the full approval and adhesion of Romanian Communists, of all the country's citizens, irrespective of nationality, to the internal and external policies pursued by the RCP and Romanian nation, serve the general cause of socialism, peace and progress throughout the world.

Assessed highly were the outstanding role of the RCP secretary, his initiatives and concrete actions for disarmament, nuclear above all, security in Europe and the world over, the free development of all peoples and equal collaboration among the states of the wrold.

In harmony with the RCP rules and the criteria set by the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, the conferences elected the new leading bodies of the respective organizations, the delegates to the 13th RCP Congress and designate the candidates for the central party bodies. At the close of the proceedings, telegrams addressed to the CC of the RCP, to Nicolae Ceausescu, party general secretary, were adopted.

[Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 2000 GMT on 7 November carries the above report and also notes the following: "The RCP county committee meetings were attended by Comrade Elena Ceausescu in Arges; Ion Radu, in Arad; Ilie Verdet, in Bacau; Ion Stoian, in Bihor; Constantin Dascalescu, in Brasv; Iosif Banc, in Buzau; Alexandrina Gainuse, in Calarasi; Gheorghe Oprea, in Cluj; Ion Dinca, in Constanta; Petre Enache, in Covasna; Emil Bobu, in Dolj; Nicolae Constantin, in Galati; Ion Coman, in Hunedoara: Lina Ciobanu, in Iasi; Ludovic Fazekas, in Neamt; Constantin Olteanu, in Olt; Stefan Andrei, in Teleorman; and Miu Dobrescu, in Volcea."

[It also notes: "The following comrades were elected to the position of first secretary of the respective counties: Pavel Aron, in Arad; Constantin Zamfir, in Arges; Ion Baluta, in Bacau; Laurean Tulai, in Bihor; Marin Nedelcu, in Brasov; Vasile Carolica, in Buzau; Dumitru Bejan, in Calarasi; Ioachim Moga, in Cluj; Nicolae Mihalache, in Constanta; Stefen Rab, in Covasna; Gheorghe Stoica, in Dolj; Marin Enache, in Galati; Radu Balan, in Hunedoara; Leonard Constantin, in Iasi; Maria Gheorghe, in Neamt; Vasile Barbulescu, in Olt; Teodor Roman, in Teleorman; Venerica Patru, in Vilcea."]

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO ALBANIA -- By presidential decree, Comrade Gheorghe Pop has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Romania to the Peoples SR of Albania in lieu of Comrade Aldea Militaru. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Oct 84 p 5 AU]

SIX INDICTED FOR SEEKING OVERTHROW OF AUTHORITY

LD081836 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1604 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, November 8 (TANJUG) -- Vladimir Mijanovic (38), the chief defendant in a group of six currently on trial at the Belgrade District Court for hostile activities, refused to defend himself before the court today. Besides Mijanovic, the group includes Miodrag Milic (55), Dragomir Olujic (35), Gordan Jovanic (23), Pavlusko Imsirovic (36) and Milan Nikolic (37). The group were formally indicated today of associating for the purpose of changing the social-political system by non-constitutional means and overthrowing the existing authority in Yugoslavia.

Mijanovic stated that he did not want to defend himself, allegedly because the group would be sentenced or acquitted according to the wishes of some powerful persons outside the court. Even before this statement, Mijanovic attempted to bring the objectivity of the court into question. He asked first for the replacement of the deputy public prosecutor, and then challenged the presiding judge of the five-judge panel, the president of the district court and, finally, the three judge assessors. His reason for demanding the replacement of the judge assessors was that earlier requests by the accused and their defense counsels had been turned down by the panel. His grounds for challenging the district court president were the latter's earlier refusal to move the trial to a larger courtroom. All the requests for replacement were rejected. Although Mijanovic said he refused to defend himself, he has nevertheless retained another two lawyers in addition to the two he engaged earlier.

The indictment, presented by Deputy District Prosecutor Danilo Nanovic, charges Mijanovic with being the organizer of the group which staged illegal meetings at which the accused read their papers or gave lectures. The indictment says that the literature seized at one such a gathering included a paper on urban guerrilla activity and several anti-Yugoslav pamphlets printed abroad. The indictment adds that the accused gathered in private apartments to hold illegal meetings at which they attacked the achievements of the Yugoslav liberation struggle and revolution, the country's socialist development, and President Tito and his work. The indictment also says that the group sought to expand its membership.

The indictment cites several allegations made at these meetings, including that the people's liberation struggle was a "disastrous defeat", and that Josip Broz Tito was "incapable of assessing the scope of the uprising" against the occupiers. The accused also claimed that 1948, when Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party thwarted Stalin's attempt to control Yugoslavia and make it a Soviet satellite, was a "Yugoslav defeat" which brought "cultural resolation" to the country.

INTERNAL INTERFERENCE CAMPAIGN 'WELL ORGANIZED'

AU082101 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Dragan Colovic commentary]

[Text] In connection with reporting by a part of foreign press on the trial of a group of dissidents in Belgrade, here is a talk by Dragan Colovic:

There can be no doubt that there is a well organized and well planned campaign that cannot be explained merely by alleged interest and concern of public opinion, particularly in the West, for the fate, as is said in many articles, of democracy in the SFRY.

The obvious purpose and intention of these articles is to exert pressure on our social, political, and economic system, by stimulating and encouraging our internal enemies, to whom the group of alleged liberal intellectuals, who are now on trial in Belgrade also belongs. They are, in fact, students without university degrees.

In the foreign press articles changes in our system are being suggested and, in a certain way, demanded. These are changes that would ensure legalization of the so-called liberal opposition -- basically, the bourgeois right. A clear attempt to accuse the Yugoslav state and party leadership of thrusting Yugoslavia into darkness and of a lack of freedom because of the alleged failure of the socialist self-managing experiment is also closely connected with what has been said above. The trial of this aforementioned dissident group is cited as an example of this. In this connection, the fear is expressed that Yugoslavia is gradually returning to the old methods that have already been tested and confirmed by the other side, methods of [words indistinct] bureaucratic coercion, and control of all forms of social and private life. The aim is to convince one's own public and the broader world public of this, as well as those well-intentioned parts of that public that in their visits to Yugoslavia have been able to convince themselves of the level of openness, democracy, and civil rights and respect for human rights, regardless of cost.

Briefly, efforts are being made to portray Yugoslavia as a country that is gradually returning to a one-party dictatorship and then to the socialist camp. The message of these articles is that one should not believe Yugoslavia and its leadership or be taken in by them, particularly now when Yugoslavia, pressed by internal economic difficulties, is seeking financial assistance and a rescheduling of its foreign debts. It is suggested in a concealed way, and in certain cases it is openly demanded, that the financial support, which should soon be discussed, be made conditional upon a change in the attitude of the Yugoslav authorities toward the informal and allegedly democratic opposition within the country.

Even a superfluous analysis of these articles indicates that what is involved is an anti-Yugoslav campaign of not just individual but of broad synchronized pressures on our country. It does not have the aim of completely destabilizing our country, because that would be unrealistic and dangerous for world peace, but rather is to influence the direction of changes in circumstances in which we are discussing changes in the political and economic system. The direction of these changes should be toward a model that would be closer to the Western models of bourgeois democracy. For this reason the present trial of a group of open opponents of our society is becoming a good reason for an even stronger anti-Yugoslav campaign.

Let it be said in passing that the intensity of this campaign considerably surpasses the intellectual and special political capabilities and even more the really negligible influence of the group which, according to its political directions, represents a mixture ranging from the ultra-left to rightist orientations, views, and opinions.

Although this time we are not dealing in detail with those concerns for Yugoslavia's destiny that come from the other side and which proceed from an alleged need to protect and preserve Yugoslavia from the forces of imperialism, and this as part of a broader socialist community, we are aware of the fact that one should not underrate such protectors either.

Yugoslavia and its peoples and nationalities, despite all difficulties, will not allow any interference in its internal affairs, nor will it give in to pressures to change the system and the position of our courts according to the taste of some bourgeois liberals and alleged democrats, who have been very vociferous lately both at home and abroad. Equally, however, those secret wishes and predictions that in this case Yugoslavia's only course is to come closer, to return to the socialist family, will also not be fulfilled.

Despite all its troubles and difficulties, in the search for its own identity and the road of development, Yugoslavia will rely even more on the development of socialist self-management on the internal plane and on nonalignment in its international policy. It is great mistake to think that things could be otherwise, particularly according to the will and taste of the bloc military-political strategists who, by means of special funds, have hitched to their vehicles of undermining Yugoslavia as it is now, a handful of journalists and self-proclaimed intellectuals, who are perhaps not even aware of whose tune they are dancing to.

Yugoslavia is a prominent and recognized member of the world community. This is because it knew, and knew how, and because it was determined to overcome at the historic crossroads its internal and outside crises by itself and to find ways out without anyone's control and tutelage.

PRESS REACTION TO REAGAN'S VICTORY SUMMARIZED

LD081741 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 8 (TANJUG) -- The convincing election victory scored by Ronald Reagan Reagan has opened new prospects for him to make another step towards the restoration of internatinal consultations and understanding, which would consolidate the extremely fragile and unstable peace in the world.

This was noted in a commentary on the U.S. presidential election published by the Yugoslav daily BORBA today under the headline, "An Expected Victory". In this context the daily underlines the United States' responsibility in relation to shaping global international trends, adding, on the other hand, that the U.S. President evidently believes that nothing should be changed in the country's internal policy.

What remains to be seen is whether the United States will have to pay the price of its economic recovery. The overvalued dollar and the substantially reduced inflation, along with a record budget deficit at the expense, among others, of the rest of the world, primarily the developing countries, as well as the record investments in the arms manufacturing industries cannot fuel the locomotive of the U.S. economy on a more permanent basis, believes BORBA.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA, which describes Reagan's victory as expected and more than convincing, says in a commentary that Reagan's re-election must not necessarily mean that there will be no change whatsoever in the United States and its relations with the outside world. It will be more realistic to expect that the U.S. President will now have more opportunity and time, and, for that matter, more willingness for initiatives both at home and abroad, says POLITIKA, adding that [words indistinct] and experienced politician such as Ronald Reagan could not allow himself to run the risk of indifference.

As far as the outcome of the election is concerned, the conservatives won not because their programme was closer to the future which is just beginning, but because their opponents were losing step with the times in which they are living, writes POLITIKA.

Zagreb daily VJESNIK says in a commentary that after the overwhelming election victory, Reagan could give up things which have proved a failure or an exaggeration, and accept those he had declared unacceptable.

In an extensive article by the paper's New York correspondent headline, "The President at the Crossroads", Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE says the "only" thing which remains for the old-new U.S. President to do now is to carry out everything which he has promised the United States and which he announced yesterday evening by saying that this was just the "beginning of everything".

OFFICIAL VIEWS FUTURE U.S.-SFRY RELATIONS

LD081739 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, November 8 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Government believes that cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States will be continued and advanced to the benefit of both sides, in the spirit of friendship between the peoples of the two countries. This statement was made by the Yugosalv Government's spokesman, Zeljko Jeglic, at his regular weekly press conference here today, commenting on the outcome of the U.S. presidential elections. Yugoslavia has successfully cooperated with President Reagan's administration also during its past term, the spokesman added.

SPOKESMAN REVIEWS LEADERS' MEETINGS IN INDIA

LD081754 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 8 Nov 84

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, November 8 (TANJUG) -- India's commitment to the policy of non-alignment is undoubtedly a lasting one and there is agreement on this matter between all leading political forces of the country, stated Yugoslav Government Spokesman Zeljko Jeglic at his regular weekly press conference here today. The death of Indira Gandhi is a great loss not only to India but also to the world and, especially, to the Movement of Non-Alignment, the spokesman pointed out.

In talks which the highest Yugoslav leaders had with the Indian leaders, new Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Giani Zail Zingh, during the funeral of Indira Gandhi, they were able to satisfy themselves of India's determination to engage even more actively in carrying out its responsibiliites as chairman of the Movement of Non-Alignment, stated Jeglic.

In the numerous contacts which the Yugoslav delegation had in New Delhi with heads of state and other high-ranking representatives of non-aligned countries, they expressed full confidence on the part of their countries that India will continue its constructive activity as chairman of the Movement of Non-alignment, he said.

"In this regard, it has full support from all member countries of the movement including, of course, Yugoslavia," concluded the official press spokesman of the Yugoslav Government.

DIZDAREVIC CONCLUDES FINANCIAL TALKS IN BRITAIN

Debt Discussed With Officials

LD081928 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1104 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] London, Nov 8 (TANJUG) -- Great Britain has expressed readiness to contribute, as it has done before, towards easing the problems connected with the repayment of Yugoslavia's foreign debt. A statement to his effect was made by the British side during a meeting here last night between Raif Dizdarevic, Yugoslav foreign secretary and, Peter Rees, ritish deputy foreign secretary and member of the inner cabinet and Robin Leigh-Pemberton, governor of the Bank of England.

Dizdarevic, who is on a 3-day official visit to Great Britain, acquainted his British colleaguses with the measures taken to improve Yugoslavia's economic situation and problems connected with the continued repayment of a part of the foreign debt. Yugoslavia's economic stabilization measures were assessed as favourable by the British side, who stated conviction that these measures will contribute to finding solutions for repaying the debt. Possible financial arrangements which would provide for dealing with the debt problem on a long-term basis were also discussed during the meeting.

Talks Summarized

LD082116 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1852 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] London, November 8 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Raif Dizdarevic, who ended his official three-day visit to Great Britain today, met here with Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock this afternoon. Their talk focussed on bilateral relations and ways for their further promotion. Dizarevic and Kinnock also exchanged views on major questions related to the two countries' internal development.

Dizdarevic informed Kinnock about the activities of the nonaligned countries and their efforts for the early solving of crucial international issues, including economic problems and the developing countries' overindebtedness.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary conferred in London with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, Chief Secretary to the Treasury Peter Rees and Bank of England Governor Robert Leigh-Pemberton.

The talks dealt frankly with issues that burden, or could become a burden on the two countries' relations. One of the topics discussed were the terrorist and subversive activities waged from British soil by certain anti-Yugoslav emigre groups.

Press Conference Held

LD082103 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1720 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Excerpts] London, November 8 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Affairs Federal Secretary Raif Dizdarevic left here this afternoon, Thursday, ending a three-day official visit to Great Britain.

Addressing Yugoslav newsmen prior to this departure from London, Dizdarevic said that the greatest attention in the talks, which were held in an open and good atmosphere, was devoted to relations between Yugoslavia and Great Britain, especially their economic cooperation. The situation in the world and efforts aimed at creating a more favourable atmosphere for negotiations and easing of tensions was also discussed in the talks. Dizdarevic told newsmen he gained the impression in London that both Yugoslavia and Britain are interested in further promotion of cooperation on the earlier established foundations. In this context, it is expected that the positive trends recorded in economic relations in recent years will continue.

ASSEMBLY BUDGET COMMITTEE RELEASES 1985 FIGURES

LD082141 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 8 November (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav federal budget for 1985 will amount to over 574 billion 142 million dinars (186 dinars to one U.S. dollar), the Assembly of Yugoslavia Budget Committee said today.

Over 372 billion 144 million dinars will be secured from turnover taxes, customs and other import duties, and the remainder from contributions from the Yugoslav republics and provinces. The federal budget this year amounted to 386 billion 700 million dinars. The 1985 budget would thus be normally larger than this year's by 48.5 percent. The final decision will be taken by the Assembly of Yugoslavia Chamber of Republics and provinces.

SOVIET JOURNAL'S VIEW OF PRC POLICY CRITICIZED

LD090014 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] In one of its articles the Soviet journal MEZHDURNARODNAYA ZHIZN questions the class character of Chinese foreign policy. The journal also throws doubts upon the suitability of the five principles of peaceful coexistence inrelations between socialist countries. In doing this, the author of the article did not fail to mention Yugoslavia. Milka Sundic comments:

When Konstantin Chernenko recently called upon China to adopt a clear, class position in international policy, very few hesitated to interpret the appeal as criticism of Chinese foreign policy. An article in the Soviet journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN dealing with Chinese foreign policy proves that Chernenko's call was meant as a signal for the onset of sharp criticism of Chinese foreign policy. The article questions the socialist and class character of Chinese foreign policy and accuses it of undermining the socialist community and of playing into the imperialists' hands. To substantiate these accusations, the article quotes a statement by Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang in which he said that the state of relations between countries should not depend on their social systems but whether the principles of peaceful coexistence are being respected or not. The Soviet journal does not state why it is so bothered about the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between sovereign states, but it is obvious that if finds them unsuitable in relations between socialist countries.

In the MEZHDUNARODBATA ZHIZN article, Yugoslavia is also referred to in connection with the objections that China pursues a discriminating foreign policy toward individual socialist countries for the purpose of weakening their unity and bringing them into conflict with each other, and above all, with the Soviet Union. According to the Soviet journal, China considers Korea, Romania, and Yugoslavia to belong to the friendly countries category.

It is true that Yugoslavia and China enjoy very good friendly relations in both the state and party spheres, but not to the detriment of Yugoslavia's relations with any of the other socialist countries. China has never insisted on anything of that kind in its relations with Yugoslavia nor would Yugoslavia ever accept relations based on that premise.

The fact that China does not have good relations with all of the socialist countries cannot be explained as only China's fault. It is as much the fault of the others, and in some cases even more of the others, than it is of China. In any case, when it comes to the friendship between China and Yugoslavia, it is a well-known fact that it has been developed through great efforts by both countries and their respective parties and that it all contributed to the state of mutual relations we are enjoying today.

China has the right to insist on the five principles of peaceful coexistence or not to make its relations with other countries conditional upon their social systems and and no one should object. As stated in the UN Charter, every country is duty-bound to base its relations with other countries on the principles of equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in their internal affairs. This should apply above all to the relations between socialist countries.

No alliance, no community, and not even the so-called socialist community should deny any country's right to decide independently about its destiny and to pursue an independent foreign policy. Yugoslavia won this right a long time ago, and no one can force it to change its international position. It if were any different, Yugoslavia would not be able to enjoy good relations with all the countries, including both China and the Soviet Union, which respect its independence.

When it comes to Sino-Soviet relations, Yugoslavia always advocated that the two countries solve their differences through negotiations. Tactless attacks from either side, including the attack by the MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN on Chinese foreign policy, are not the way to reach that goal.

STAMBOLIC ADVOCATES DIRECT AID TO KOSOVO

AU072213 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 84 p 3

[D. Drazic and V. Krsmanovic report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 31 Oct -- The present analysis of the political system is developing slowly and with significant differences. On the other hand, the discussion on the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session has been very critical when matters involved the realization of the political system, the ineffectiveness of decisionmaking, formalism in delegate relations, the complicated election system, weaknesses in cadre policy, and the slow reaching of unified solutions in the organs of the federation. It was demanded that an end be made to just describing the state of affairs and difficulties and that those changes in the political system and practice be made more rapidly which will ensure that the constitutional foundations of the system be realized more consistently and that socialist self-managing democracy further advance. Dragoslav Markovic spoke about the need for a more economical public administration and administration in general and stressed that a reduction of administration is only one task, but that it is necessary to prevent a flood of normativism, whose "high tide" influences the number of employed.

These days, Ivan Stambolic said at the end of the discussion, much is being said about the problem of lagging of the republic proper in economic development. Many measures are being discussed both in the republic and in the federation that should contribute to solving this problem and to removing its causes. One of these proposals is to reduce the obligations of the republic proper in allocating funds for encouraging a more rapid development of the underdeveloped republics and the Province of Kosovo.

However, when the use of Serbia's funds for encouraging a more rapid development of Kosovo is involved, I believe that the federation's intermediary role is not necessary, that it is superfluous and, in fact, incapacitates the republic in pursuing an active policy of regional development over its entire area.

The current manner of allocating and using these funds is not good, Stambolic stressed. It obviously strengthens statism and obstructs self-management. In Kosovo itself, the province provides only 10 percent of its own funds for development; the other 90 percent are additional funds. For this reason, I believe it is much more economical if Serbia's associated labor participates as directly as possible in encouraging Kosovo's development.